

THE  
**Eclectic Review.**

M A Y, 1851.

ART. I.—1. *Returns to an Address of the House of Commons, dated 19th May, 1840, for a Copy of the First and Second Charters of the University of London—of the Minutes of the Senate of the University, and of all Committees appointed by the Senate, &c., &c. Ordered to be Printed, 5th Aug. 1840.*

2. *Third Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Medical Registration and Medical Law Amendment, with Minutes of the Evidence and Appendix. Ordered to be Printed, 25th Aug. 1848.*
3. *Calendars of the University of London, Published Annually. 1843—51. London: R. and J. E. Taylor.*

WE have for some time contemplated laying before our readers an account of the University of London. The successful stand made by it in defence of its graduates against the assumptions of the three great medical corporations—the annual number of successful candidates which has at length justified the public conferring of degrees—and still more recently the accession to its senatorial ranks of men of such note as Sir James Graham, Mr. Grote, Mr. Hallam, Mr. Cornwall Lewis, Mr. Macaulay, Lord Monteagle, and Lord Overstone—sufficiently prove that the university has made its position. Besides this, the pendency even now of questions of vital import, makes us particularly anxious to inform our readers fully as to its past career and

future prospects. Our limits enforce compression; but the subject fortunately admits selection of matter, and we shall return to it shortly.

Most of our readers will remember the circumstances to which the University of London owes its establishment. The project was first announced in 1825, and in a few months the funds received were sufficient to set it on foot. The proprietary contains a goodly list of names high in office and in rank. On the 30th of April, 1827, in the presence of upwards of two thousand persons, the Duke of Sussex laid the first stone of the building in Gower-street. On this occasion 'the patriot Duke' was supported by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Carnarvon, the late Lord Auckland, the present Lord Brougham, Dr. Lushington, Mr. J. Smith, M.P., &c. &c. Early in 1828, the courses of instruction had been matured, and the necessary arrangements completed; and by November the institution was in full work in all the usual branches of academic learning, except theology.

In 1830 the founders applied for a Charter of Incorporation as an university. The opposition, at the last moment, of Oxford and Cambridge, prevented the grant; but in 1833 the application was renewed, backed by an address from the City of London. The matter was referred to the Privy Council, and the grant of the charter was here opposed not only by the old universities, but by the London Hospitals and the College of Surgeons. Sir Charles Wetherell led the attack for Oxford with his wonted energy; but the real difficulty arose from the medical opposition. It was felt that the power of granting medical degrees ought, if conferred at all, to be conceded to all alike, and not only to the new institution. Pending the discussion Sir Robert Peel succeeded Lord Melbourne as Prime Minister; and the question was then brought to a point by the carrying against Ministers of a motion, by Mr. Tooke, for an address to the Crown, praying for the University Charter. Almost immediately afterwards Lord Melbourne returned to office, and negotiations were actively carried on between Mr. Spring Rice on the part of the restored Government, and Mr. Romilly (the present Master of the Rolls), on behalf of the college.

The scheme proposed by the Government (which had been hinted at by Lord John Russell in the debate on Mr. Tooke's motion\*) was a *tertium quid*—viz., to establish the Gower-street body and other educational institutions as *Colleges*; and to create a *University* of a distinct body, consisting of gentlemen

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\* *Hansard*, vol. xxxvii., 3d series.

eminent in literature and science. To this body was to be entrusted the function of examining candidates, and granting degrees; and to the Gower-street, and other *colleges*, was to belong the right of sending up their pupils as candidates. The fundamental principle was, that academical degrees were to be granted 'in London, to persons of all religious persuasions, without distinction, and without the imposition of any test or disqualification whatever.'

It will be seen that this plan avoided the difficulty started by the medical schools, and immensely widened the basis of the new university. All these bodies could now, if they chose, become colleges, and thus secure degrees for their students; while by confining the actual power of granting degrees to one body their value as a test was proportionably raised.

Some further explanations passed; the Chancellor of the Exchequer going somewhat out of his way to observe, that 'it should be always kept in mind that what is sought on the present occasion is, an equality in all respects with the ancient universities, freed from those exclusions and religious distinctions which abridge the usefulness of Oxford and Cambridge;' and, eventually, the Gower-street Council accepted the proposed arrangement, and, on the 28th of November, 1836, received the charter under which they now act, incorporating them, not as The University of London, but as *University College, London*. King's College had already received a similar charter; and by another charter, dated the 5th day of December, 1837, granted by her present Majesty, a distinct body of gentlemen were incorporated as *THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON*.\* Henceforward, the history of the Gower-street Institution is that of *University College*, and our allusions to it will be in that character only.

The object of the University of London Charter was declared to be, 'for the advancement of religion and morality, and the promotion of useful knowledge, to hold forth to all classes and denominations of our faithful subjects, without any distinction whatsoever, an encouragement for pursuing a regular and liberal course of education.' The gentlemen we have referred to, whose names will be found in the Calendars, were incorporated as the University, and were further appointed to act as 'the Senate.' It provided for the nomination of a Chancellor by the Crown, to hold office for life; and of a Vice-Chancellor, annually, by the Senate. The Crown was to fill up vacancies or appoint additional members at pleasure; but the Senate was to complete its own numbers up to 36, if they should ever fall below 27.

\* A charter had been granted by King William, on the same day with the University College charter, but owing to a technical inaccuracy, it expired with his life.

To the Senate was entrusted the 'entire management of, and superintendence over,' the affairs of the University. It was empowered to make all requisite bye-laws, subject to the approval of the Home Secretary; to hold examinations at least once a-year, and to appoint and remove examiners; to confer, 'after examination,' the degrees of B.A., M.A., LL.B., LL.D., M.B., and M.D.; and to charge fees for the degrees conferred, subject to the approval of the Treasury.

University and King's Colleges were empowered by the charter itself to send up candidates for examination; and provision was made for affiliating by sign-manual other educational institutions then or thereafter to be established within the United Kingdom. Medical schools and institutions were to be affiliated, on obtaining a report in their favour from the Senate, approved by the Home Secretary.

Candidates were to produce certificates from their respective colleges, stating that they had 'completed the course of instruction' determined by the regulations of the Senate in that behalf; and on being declared by the examiners entitled to their degree, they were to receive a certificate thereof under the university seal.

The university is not as yet in the enjoyment of a Senate House; and the apartments in Somerset House assigned to its use by the Government have for some time afforded very insufficient accommodation. The degrees were conferred last year in the hall of King's College. The first year's expenses, amounting to about 5,000*l.*, were defrayed by the Government; and a promise was given of providing future assistance (until the fees should create an adequate income) from the 'votes.' Upon Sir Robert Peel's accession, Mr. Goulburn cut down the vote by 800*l.*, with somewhat scant courtesy. The fees have steadily risen to nearly 2,000*l.* a-year, and are still rising.

Our inquiries will now be directed to ascertain what the Senate has done in discharge of the high trust committed to it; how far it has been met by the adhesion of public educational bodies; the number and character of its graduates; and the general result.

The regulations for graduating in each faculty may be found in the Calendar. Of what labours they are the result, we shall now endeavour to describe.

Almost at the first meeting of the Senate,\* three committees were appointed (one in each faculty), with instructions 'to inquire and report on the departments of knowledge in which it is expedient for the Senate, in conferring degrees, to grant certificates of particular proficiency; on the course of instruction;

\* This information is collected from a blue book, printed in 1840, by order of the House of Commons, on Mr. Hume's motion, containing an account of the entire proceedings of the University down to its date.

on the certificates which shall entitle candidates to examination for degrees in their several faculties; and also as to the expediency of requiring matriculation, and the time of doing so in each of these faculties.' The Committee in Arts consisted of the whole Senate; the Committee in Medicine, of the medical members, with the addition of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Bishop of Chichester, Mr. Amos, and Dr. Jerrard; the Committee in Laws, of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, the Bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Norwich, and Messrs. Austin, Empson, Lefevre, Senior, and Warburton.

The Committees in Arts and Laws were ready with their reports in June, 1838; the Medical Committee did not conclude its labours until February, 1839. The manner of proceeding of the Arts Committee (to take one as a sample) was in this wise. It will be remembered that it consisted of the whole Senate. The whole body first determined—with the aid of a valuable letter from Dr. Arnold—upon the general subjects, a knowledge of which should be essential to the degree of B.A. The minutes printed by order of the House of Commons betoken an honourable anxiety on this important preliminary. When finally arranged, sub-committees were appointed 'to draw up a descriptive schedule of the particular subjects' to be included under the general heads of knowledge. Chemistry, and Animal and Vegetable Physiology, were entrusted to Mr. Faraday, Professor Henslow, and Dr. Roget; Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, to Mr. Airy, Dr. Arnott, and Mr. Lefevre; Logic and Moral Philosophy, to Mr. Empson, Mr. Senior, and Mr. Warburton; Classics, to the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Arnold, and Dr. Jerrard. Their recommendations appear on the printed papers. They passed through the ordeal of an intermediate and more general sub-committee; and after a lengthened re-consideration, were substantially adopted by the Committee of the whole Senate. They involved examinations considerably more extensive and deeper than is now actually demanded; but it appears to have been since felt that it was possible to go too far in excess of what was made necessary elsewhere; modifications were, consequently, effected, reducing the Arts curriculum to its present shape.

We have been thus far specific, because the knowledge of such labours by the eminent persons named, continued almost *de die in diem* for a period of fourteen months, followed by constant revision by the light of further experience and actual working, must add materially to the weight of the LONDON UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM. The remark applies even more strongly to the regulations in Medicine.

A general sketch of the curriculum would convey no information as to the points we wish to illustrate; and to enter minutely into its details would much exceed our limits. We shall there-

fore, in as few words as possible, sum up what appear to be its general results.

I. The candidate for a London degree must prove a knowledge more general and more uniform than elsewhere, and not less deep than is required at other universities in the subjects of their especial encouragement.

We may easily illustrate this. Not less classics is required than would be sufficient at Oxford, and not less mathematics than would be sufficient at Cambridge; so that the amount of joint-knowledge, if we may so speak, is higher at London than at either Oxford or Cambridge. Again, Oxford and Cambridge have not regarded modern classics, nor modern history, nor simple physical science, unconnected, we mean, with mathematical development. At London, besides requiring the student to be as deep in logic and moral philosophy as elsewhere, he is led into animal physiology, English history to the end of the seventeenth century, and at least one modern language, an option being left him between French and German.

II. More complete provision is made than elsewhere for ensuring a continuance of study (and consequently real mental training) on the part of the candidate throughout the whole period of his course. The examinations, from first to last, are *bonâ fide*; they are placed sufficiently apart, and they are all accompanied by a further examination for honours.

What may be the absolute amount of improvement in these respects recently effected, or now in contemplation, at Oxford or Cambridge, we will not undertake precisely to say; but as there is avowedly no examination *after* the B.A. degree is taken, so we believe, practically, there is none of any real value before it; and that the examination for the degree itself is not such as to require any very extreme labour, or for any very long time. That the colleges have constant examinations (almost daily, we believe, some of them, as the struggle approaches), we are well aware; but this is not our point. They make provision for study, it may be conceded. They make none for *ensuring* it. Now at London, it is not impossible, certainly, but it is made as difficult as it well can be, to obtain a degree without continuous study. In the first place, matriculation is indispensable. The candidate for this must evince a knowledge (sound as far as it goes, and that not merely elementary) of the simpler problems of arithmetic and algebra, and the first book of Euclid, one Greek and one Latin book *melioris æri et notæ*, and the grammatical structure, etymological as well as syntactic, of the English language,\* and the history of England to the end of the seventeenth century. Besides these, he must be further prepared

\* This examination is severe, requiring a knowledge of Saxon roots, and of the historical development of the language.

either in chemistry or in the usual branches of natural philosophy as popularly treated.

When we state further, that the candidate must have completed his sixteenth year, we have shown sufficient evidence of an intention that a London undergraduate shall need a sound school education to begin with. Our general readers are aware how far this is verified by the class of young men whom our schools send up to matriculate. It is further and very material evidence in its favour that the medical graduates find it sufficient without taking an Arts degree to place them in a position much superior to their professional brethren of the same length of standing, as regards the social consideration which a degree of literary acquirement always ensures.

We assume, therefore, that the London graduate must have a complete, sound, and, consequently, a lengthened school training before he begins his university course.\*

The matriculated candidate for the B.A. degree must wait two years, and must then produce certificates of having, during that interval, been a well-conducted college student, before he can be admitted to the examination. After waiting two years longer, and completing his twentieth year of age, the B.A. will be admitted to try for the Master of Arts degree.

Not to overstate the case, we must here mention that it is a very small proportion of the candidates in Arts who have hitherto passed on to the final degree. An increase appears probable, but the number of M.A.'s does not yet reach forty out of more than four hundred bachelors. The course of training must, therefore, be taken as terminating at the same point with those of Oxford and Cambridge. The difference is, that it begins earlier and continues throughout. But the determination to insist on an examination for the M.A. degree speaks most strongly for the excellence of the London system. At Oxford and Cambridge, as is well known, the course of study ends with the B.A. degree. The M.A. is given of course to any graduate who chooses to pay for it. What is the object of retaining it at all, except to get money, we have no knowledge.

Another most valuable principle is acted upon in the arrangements for the Honours examination. It is not, as at Cambridge, left to the option of the candidate, whether to present himself for the mere degree, or for the Honours list; such Honours again being restricted to mathematics and classics. At London he is required first to pass; and thereby to give evidence of

\* Let us not be misunderstood. A candidate for the Cambridge Wranglership begins his mathematics two, or even three years, before he enters the university. We are speaking of the provision for the mass, and showing that the London B.A., as such, must be a very different being from one of the Oxford or Cambridge *οἱ πολλοὶ*.

sound general training. It being thus ascertained that all the faculties of his mind have had their due development, he is encouraged, by the variety of honours offered, to pursue his studies whithersoever his genius leads him. At matriculation he may take Honours, not only in mathematics and classics, but also in natural history and chemistry; the former being understood to embrace botany and zoology. The B.A. Honours include chemistry, animal and vegetable physiology, and structural botany. These latter Honours are not ranked so highly as the others, nor should they be; they are worthy, and they are treated as worthy, of special recognition where the taste for them exists. A distinct branch of the M.A. examination is devoted to philosophy.

We are aware that numerous prizes await the freshman at the older universities. Were they accompanied by a sound general examination, we should have nothing to say against them. As it is, they lead to a warping of the student's mind at the very outset, by directing his attention inordinately to the subject in which he feels that he has already succeeded. This partial, one-sided mode of study is the great evil (intellectually speaking) of the Oxford and Cambridge system; and one from which London has been hitherto, and we hope will ever remain, wholly free. The powers given by the recent supplementary charter, to grant certificates, without a previous degree, of proficiency in particular departments of study, such as navigation and civil engineering, seriously alarmed us. These studies have no claim to an estimation which the university has so distinctly refused to even classics and mathematics, taken alone. Fears were once entertained, looking to the known leanings of influential persons among the founders of University College, that its training would be formed too much in the 'Utilitarian' model. Its conduct on the late certificate movement has entirely dissipated this fear; and, after what has passed, we hope that this most mistaken attempt will not be repeated.

III. The faculties of law and medicine, elsewhere so long and so shamelessly neglected, are at London honourably recognised.

We have not heard that Oxford has done anything for MEDICINE since she sent up to the House of Commons Committee, as a specimen of her productions in that line, a doctor of Divinity; nor if Oxford had, upon that occasion, taken any other course than that of insisting on the retention of her exclusive privileges, while avowedly doing no one thing for which they were given to her, would her inefficiency be much open to observation. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge have the means of providing medical teaching. Even the strong evidence as to Cambridge, of the late Professor Haviland, fails to convince us that a solitary hospital, with not three hundred beds, can do as much for students as the thronged wards open to them all over London.

They may there see daily, and in every form and stage, diseases which they would only hear of throughout their whole courses at Oxford or Cambridge.

For their treatment of LAW, these learned bodies have not the same excuse. The great defect of the profession in this country is its want of scientific training. With a practical skill which distances all competition on this side of the Atlantic, yet to what that is to which their lives are devoted, they have never given a thought. Mr. Phillips leads you through two goodly octavos on the law of Evidence without once telling you what evidence is ; while another learned writer proposes to supply the defect by informing you, with an amusing gravity, that it is *not* counsel's address to the jury. A 'debt' is defined by Mr. Serjeant Stephen as a 'predicament,' which it is. Now it is idle to say that universities—that Oxford and Cambridge, with their tutors, their libraries, their special and large endowments—cannot teach jurisprudence. It is disgraceful to say, that at one, if not both of these universities, the LL.B. or B.C.L. is a sort of back-door degree, sought for by those who dare not be plucked, and who are too idle or too ignorant for even the *oi πολλοι*.

In nothing has the London Senate displayed more admirable conduct than in meeting the great want of the medical profession. The old universities taught gentlemen, but not physicians ; the London hospitals gave the education of surgeons and physicians, but not of gentlemen. The University of London does both. It expects of the mere student of literature that he shall be acquainted with the vital functions of the animal system ; it expects of the medical student that his earlier life shall have been devoted to the *literæ humaniores*, and that at the close of his course he shall be read in moral philosophy and logic, and at least the elements of intellectual philosophy. With an exception, which rarely occurs in practice, the medical course is not concluded until the student has reached his twenty-fourth year, and involves, after matriculating, three examinations, the first and second alone of which carry the medical knowledge required through all the subjects involved in every department of practice, whether as a physician, surgeon, or apothecary, and carry it, too, to a higher point than is known at any other institution whatever. In Law, again, the LL.D. examination is equally severe. Indeed, the LL.D. medallist has attained the highest university honour which this country\* has to bestow. An Arts degree is an essential preliminary ; and then, after two years' legal study, the candidate for the mere LL.B. degree is required to prove his

\* The Divinity degrees elsewhere are not an university honour. They require no examination, and are merely a recognition of what the public voice has already decided.

knowledge both of principle and practice by an examination in Blackstone and Bentham. But while the examinations display no lack of severity, there is a woful lack of encouragement. One scholarship and one medal are all the temptations of the law student. We see no reason why all the branches of jurisprudential learning should not have their appropriate *scholarship or exhibition* equally with the several divisions of medical study. The value of these stimulants cannot be doubted, when it is observed that all the candidates for law honours try for the jurisprudence scholarship, and rarely for anything else.

But the best prepared curriculum may become valueless, if care be not taken with the examinations. The London Senate confides this duty, in the first instance, to such of its own members as are willing to undertake it. Failing these, it attracts examiners of merit, by the offer of a position practically permanent, and a salary high in proportion to the duties. We cannot now discuss the relative advantages of this and the systems pursued elsewhere. Judging by the *results*, the London system has not hitherto failed to secure examiners of real and, what is hardly less important, of recognised ability.

For the examinations themselves there are two tests: one, universally recognised, is the proportion of plucked men; the other is the responsible expression of opinion by men of acknowledged position, respecting the standing of the graduates, or, still better, their relative success.

The proportion of plucked men, to get rid of the unpleasant test first, is shown by the following table,\* giving the results from the first examination in 1838 to the last in 1850:—

	No. of Candidates.	Passed.	Not passed.	Proportion plucked.
Matriculation . . . . .	1,435	1,277	158	1 in 9
B.A. . . . .	480	415	65	Over 1 „ 8
M.A. . . . .	40	37	3	1 „ 13
LL.B. . . . .	35	33	2	1 „ 18
LL.D. . . . .	7	5	2	1 „ 4
B.M., 1st. Exam.	463	319	144	Nearly 1 „ 3
„ 2d. „ .	229	200	29	1 „ 10
M.D. . . . .	102	95	7	1 „ 13
<b>Total . . .</b>	<b>2,751</b>	<b>2,381</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>Over 1 in 7</b>

\* Constructed from an annual tabular statement, some results of which have already appeared elsewhere.

We think this table speaks for itself as to the good faith of the requirements of the curriculum. With regard to the other tests, eleven years is a period fully short for the attainment of a 'position,' by any considerable number of the graduates ; yet we have seen a list of appointments, held by the London medical graduates, both numerous and important. We may refer also to the partiality for London graduates as ministers, priests, and clergymen ; the proportion of 'reverends' having, down to a recent period, been not less than one-sixth of the entire number of graduates in Arts. A very considerable number have also obtained professorial or similar appointments in their own colleges, and in institutions not connected with the university. As instances of the latter, we may mention the appointment of *Mr. Joseph Gouge Greenwood* to the classical chair at Owens College, and that of *Mr. Bunnell Lewis*, by Lord Clarendon, to the Greek chair of the Queen's College at Cork. The selection of *Mr. Hargreave*, as Commissioner of the Encumbered Estates Court, in Ireland, is another splendid instance. We ourselves know a case in which the refusal of a head mastership of a school, considered to be worth not far short of 1,000*l.* a year, was offered in succession, in the first instance, to several graduates of London, and declined.

We had marked for extract various passages from the Third Report of the Committee on the Medical Registration Bill, exhibiting, in strong relief, the position held by the London graduates throughout the country, but we must leave them for future disinterment.

London, therefore, has done what Oxford and Cambridge could not do. It has extended, for all this country, the basis of a liberal education ; insomuch that Oxford and Cambridge are fain to follow in its track. It has accorded their due rank to mental, moral, and political science, placing them at the end of the course, and attributing to them honours not less than equal to the continued pursuit of classics or mathematics. In this, also, Oxford and Cambridge have been unable to disobey the lead. Moreover, in a liberal education, London alone has embraced the studies of the liberal professions.

The financial condition of the university is somewhat as follows. It has to provide for scholarships and other rewards, and examiners and other officers. The estimates calculate nearly 1,100*l.* for scholarships, and nearly 2,500*l.* for examiners. The registrar's salary is 500*l.*, and the clerk receives 250*l.* The remainder, consumed in incidentals, brings up the estimates to slightly under 5,000*l.* To meet this, the amount of fees has reached 1,500*l.*, leaving the remainder to be provided by the 'votes.'

Judging from the tabular statement below,\* the income for fees is likely to increase. We should premise that the scale of fees is as follows:—2*l.* for matriculation, and 10*l.* for each degree in Arts; in Medicine, 5*l.* for each of the two bachelors' examinations, and 10*l.* for the M.D.; in Laws, 10*l.* for the LL.B., and 25*l.* for the LL.D. The table represents the amount of fees received upon all the examinations, year by year. It does not exactly represent the annual number of candidates, inasmuch as up to 1847-8 the fees were returned to unsuccessful competitors. In that year, the Senate, finding a loss of nearly 1,300*l.* already incurred by this system, determined on retaining the fees, admitting the candidates to re-examination without further payment.

	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850
Matriculation £	44	60	138	128	132	160	158	206	198	306	322	362	400
B.A. . . . .	—	170	300	350	200	280	300	370	300	360	470	620	660
M.A. . . . .	—	—	30	10	30	—	30	10	20	30	40	70	100
LL.B. . . . .	—	30	20	90	20	10	10	20	20	20	40	20	30
LL.D. . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	50	25	25
B.M. 1st Exam.	125	190	250	125	105	130	125	130	120	135	160	140	
„ 2d „		95	90	95	105	100	80	65	100	120	75	80	
M.D. . . . .	—	20	10	70	50	40	140	110	110	90	120	80	150
Total . £	44	405	783	988	652	725	868	911	843	1026	1297	1412	1585

The extent to which those who had been excluded from Oxford and Cambridge have availed themselves of the facilities thus provided, will be judged of by the following statement. Colleges have been affiliated in connexion with the Independents, Baptists, Catholics, Church of England, and Wesleyans, besides colleges professedly open to all denominations. Of the latter, University College, to which is due the honour of our having an university at all, was affiliated at the outset. This was followed in 1840 and 1842 by the colleges at Manchester and Carmarthen. The Baptists and Independents affiliated their London colleges, Highbury, Homerton, and Stepney, in 1840. A technical point renders it necessary to affiliate New College afresh. Airedale, Bristol, Cheshunt, and Rotherham, joined in 1841; Huddersfield, and the Lancashire College, in 1844; Plymouth in 1848; and Taunton in 1849. The Roman Catholic

\* Constructed partly from the tabular statement before mentioned, and as to part from direct information.

colleges at Carlow, Oscott, Prior Park, Stonyhurst, Ushaw, and Ware, all joined in 1840, followed by Downside in 1841, and by two Irish colleges in 1844 and 1849. The Church of England owns to King's, Queen's College, Birmingham (1846), and the universities of the United Kingdom. The Wesleyans, in 1844 and 1846, added their colleges at Sheffield and Taunton to the list.

The medical colleges and institutions defy specific mention. They are nearly one hundred in number. They are spread over England, Scotland, and Ireland. They are to be found in Calcutta, Montreal, Malta, and Ceylon. They include *all* the leading hospitals in London. And all of them have been admitted on their own application; many have submitted to rigid inquiry before being received; some of the best-reputed have expressed, in warm terms, their gratitude for the boon. It is uniformly the *élite* of their students who present themselves for the London degrees.

On the 7th July, 1849, the supplementary charter, to which we have alluded in connexion with the proposed certificate system, empowered the university to receive candidates from Oxford and Cambridge, and the other ancient universities in the three kingdoms. On this we postpone our judgment. The measure, which at best is far too slight an advance to call for any very warm expression of gratitude from us, *may* work in so many ways for which we should not be grateful, and had in its original proposal such\* a *Timeo Danaos* look about it, that we must decline for the present expressing any opinion.

The above is a compressed statement of the past history of *the University of London*. A question is now pending, upon the right decision of which, it is not too much to say, depend its whole future fortunes.

We are not alluding to the admission of Dissenters at Oxford or Cambridge. If accorded, of which we see no present probability, the fate of London must still depend on itself. The question is,—*What a London graduate is to be?* It is traceable, by no means obscurely, in the foundation charter; it has been three times under the consideration of the Senate; and it is at this moment awaiting a further discussion by that body, as now constituted by the recent appointment of new members.

The demand was undoubtedly, in its full extent, equality with Oxford and Cambridge. Remembering what was deemed possible in those times, it would be an insult to common sense to infer anything less from the poured-out largess to found University College; the Guildhall address; the House of Commons resolutions; and the destruction of a Ministry. Now the graduate

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\* The debate was fully reported in the 'Patriot.'

of Oxford or Cambridge is a member of one of the most important public bodies in the country, wielding a commanding influence throughout the entire kingdom; an influence arising from the learning, station, and privileges\* of its members. Its privilege and station belong to every graduate. The meanest graduate may, if he chooses, and often practically does, exercise an important influence on the affairs of his university, and holds a higher social position in consequence. The question of sending members to Parliament is beyond the present scope of our observations.

This is not the character of the degree now offered to the London students. The London graduates, as we have seen, *must* be, in respect of attainments, what the Oxford or Cambridge graduates *need not* be—but having ascertained this, the University of London has nothing more to do with him. He is not a member of the university at all. His entire connexion with it is a mere passing matter of bargain and sale. A fee is paid, an examination is passed, and a certificate is received, and this closes the transaction.

This state of things *may* have been at the outset the wisest course to pursue. But it could only have been intended to be temporary. As a point of common honesty between man and man it could not have been meant to last longer than was absolutely required. The very frame of the charter bespeaks a consciousness of this, or why the appointment of so many personages as 'the University,' and then the re-appointment of the self-same gentlemen over again as 'the *Senate* of the University,' with the 'entire management of, and supervision over,' the University, *i.e.*, themselves. Obviously a future modification was contemplated, in which the senatorial function was to be one, but not the sole essential element.

Such appears by the Blue Book to have been the view of the Senate. That body had no sooner disengaged itself from the important preliminaries we have been discussing, than, in 1840—as soon in fact as it had any graduates to think of—it began to consider their position. On the 25th March the Senate resolved itself into a committee of the whole body, 'to consider of any alteration it may be expedient to make in the charter.' The committee met seven times, and was attended on each occasion by from twelve to fifteen members. Those who appear to have given most attention to the subject, both by their regularity of attendance and the part taken by them in the discussions, were

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\* The large *income* commonly attributed to the old universities belongs not to them, but to the colleges connected with them. *We doubt much if it is larger than belongs to the institutions connected with London.*

Sir John Lubbock, Dr. Arnold, Dr. Billing, Sir James Clark, Sir Stephen Hammick, Dr. Hodgkin, Dr. Jerrard, Dr. Locock, Dr. Roget, Mr. Senior, and Mr. Warburton. Of the numerous resolutions come to we shall extract those which refer to our present point.

‘ 30th March. That as soon as the graduates of three years’ standing shall amount in number to three hundred, it will be expedient to constitute the said graduates, and all future graduates of the same standing, together with the persons who then or thenceforth shall be or shall have been members of the Senate, the electoral body of this university.—Mr. Warburton. Carried *nem. con.*

‘ 6th April. That the number of members of the Senate be limited to thirty-six, exclusive of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor.—Sir S. Hammick. *Aff. 6; neg. 3.*

‘ That until an Electoral Body be constituted, no appointment of any new member of the Senate shall take place by the Secretary of State, without one month’s previous notice to the Senate, through the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, of the name of the individual proposed to be appointed.—Dr. Locock. Carried *nem. con.*

‘ 13th April. That it is expedient that as soon as the Electoral Body of the University shall be constituted, one-sixth part of the members of the Senate shall annually retire, those retiring not being re-eligible at the next ensuing election.—Mr. Warburton. *Aff. 10; neg. 2.*

‘ That the Electoral Body shall determine who shall be elected to the vacancies thus created.—Mr. Warburton.

‘ 15th April. That of the six retiring members of the Senate, three shall go out by rotation, and three in consequence of their having given the smallest amount of attendance during the last year.—Dr. Hodgkin. *Aff. 4; neg. 1.*

‘ 13th May. That not more than two persons belonging professionally to the same faculty shall be elected annually members of the Senate.—Mr. Warburton. *Aff. 5; neg. 1.*’

Such was the scheme proposed in 1840 by the whole Senate, sitting in committee, elaborated by the gentlemen we have named, and sanctioned by others of no less note, who were less frequently present. The above resolutions bear marks on the face of them of a full discussion and careful framing. However, on coming before the Senate, sitting senatorially, the resolution which stands first in order and importance received a variety of amendments, and was finally rejected.

After the subject had slept for eight years, it was again brought forward by the graduates. The alarm occasioned by the Medical Registration Bill, and the entire destitution of means in which the Senate found itself under its present constitution to pacify that alarm, led to the organization of the entire body of graduates—the other faculties joining their medical brethren rapidly and

heartily. Communications were opened with the Senate in March, 1848; by June a full meeting of the graduates had been held at Freemasons' Tavern, at which a committee was appointed to protect their constitutional and medical interests. Their energy as to the latter has resulted, we may say at once, in an acknowledgment by the Government of the force of the arrangements of 1836 for ensuring to the London graduates equality in civil privileges with those of Oxford and Cambridge, and a promise to enforce it in any medical bill supported by the Government.

The more important measure—the admission of the graduates to a *de facto* existence—has proceeded much more slowly. In the first instance, the Senate did not do more than enable the graduates to state their wishes at the Home Office. This led to a request from Sir George Grey that the graduates would prepare a plan for effecting the incorporation desired. After much deliberation, this was drawn up; it was eventually referred to the Senate; and although that body declined to report in its favour, their resolution contained a declaration of their desire 'that the graduates should hereafter be admitted to a share in the government of the university.' This was on the 10th of June, 1849. Further communications have passed, and at the time we write the matter is under consideration, a special meeting of the Senate having been convened for the purpose.

We shall not anticipate their decision, anxiously as we *await* it; but while it is still pending, we propose to point out some circumstances favourable to the admission of the graduates.

The first, and most important, is the Metropolitan seat of the university. We doubt if the importance of this advantage can be over-estimated. It secures the constant presence in the immediate neighbourhood of the Senate of a large number of the most distinguished men. It is the great misfortune of Oxford and Cambridge that, with the exception of the necessarily few whom the highest university posts can detain, their best men all leave them as soon as they have completed their course—we might say *all* their men, for the number of residents is exceedingly few. They are at this moment suffering too severely from the inevitable consequences of power lodged in few hands, unchecked, except in special cases, and ignorant of the world without, to need enlargement upon it. The reverse is necessarily the case in London. There are the best men, and too many of them, to render it possible that if influenced by their energy, the University of London can lag behind the age; while the conservative feeling natural to professional classes will protect it equally from undue proneness to alteration.

Another important fact is the number of the graduates thus resident who are engaged in the liberal professions. The medical graduates of London find openings ready for them in all the principal towns; but London itself is the place where they 'most do congregate.' The law graduates are few; but the graduates engaged in legal pursuits constitute probably the majority of the Arts men. The considerable number engaged in tuition we have already alluded to. Now we rank most highly this latter class, so nearly assimilating to our own; but a community of teachers only is not our notion of Utopia. We have no doubt of the advantage to be derived from a very considerable infusion of the classes engaged in professional practice. We are satisfied that their absence—their unavoidable absence—from Oxford and Cambridge, is one material cause of the acknowledged retrogression of those bodies. London would have the best men, plenty of them, and of all classes.

No system can provide practically for every graduate. Oxford and Cambridge have no means, we say advisedly *no* means, of enlisting in their active service more than a very small number. The only thing that enables them to effect an organization at all is their Parliamentary franchise. In London, residence secures the co-operation of a full half, and the month of May brings a large proportion of the remainder annually to town. These can be kept fully enough informed of what is intended, to decide upon it intelligently at the annual gathering.

But there are not only greater facilities, there is greater necessity. At Oxford and Cambridge the governing body of the universities is composed (speaking generally) of the governing bodies of the colleges; and any nominal distinction is lost in the practical identity of interest and purpose permeating through the entire mass. At London the Senate is carefully kept distinct from the colleges; and its individual members, with scarcely an exception, have, for all practical purposes, no acquaintance with the college authorities. The connecting link is formed by the graduates, and they form a more efficient and safer connexion than any other—more efficient, because they are so nearly concerned; safer, because their organization connecting them collectively with all the colleges, precludes the narrowness and warping of view incidental to representatives isolated from each other, and charged with the peculiar interests of single institutions.

Nor would the result be confined to the colleges. London has at present none of that influence which is so important an element in the value of an Oxford or Cambridge degree. During the twelve years of its existence many of the colleges have received even large public benefactions; the university not

one. We believe that half the world is ignorant of its very locality. Not three days ago we saw the 'particulars' of a house in Gower-street described as 'near the London University.' In these economical times this influence is all important. Chancellors of the Exchequer have hitherto not refused assistance. But should a future Chancellor arise 'who knows not Joseph,' the first votes sacrificed to the pressure from without will be those granted to bodies having no hold on the country, and against which, as it happens, there is the recorded opinion of a select committee.\* The incorporation of the graduates would effect a lodgment for the university in nearly every town in England. It would gratify thousands of families which never before had a graduate in their ranks. It would lead to substantial pecuniary aid; and would tell in any important struggle in the House of Commons itself.

We cannot overlook the fact that the graduates already are an organized body—that notwithstanding the difficulties of their unrecognised position, they have appointed a central committee, whose responsibility is secured by general meetings and periodical retirement. This committee, we are informed, is in communication with, allowing for deaths and absence abroad, about seven-eighths of the entire number of graduates. It has, as our readers have seen, been for the last three years in correspondence with the Senate and the Home Office. We were ourselves present at a meeting at one of the colleges at which their exertions in resistance to the certificate branch of the supplemental charter were recognised, and the college resolutions on the same point ordered to be forwarded to them.

Lastly, to look at the other side. What must be the effect of exclusion? Is it not as much as if the Senate were to say—'We were appointed twelve years ago on account of our acknowledged eminence in literature, science, and art, to train up a band of men who should rival the sons of the ancient universities? For twelve years we have devoted all our energies to this work. *But we have failed.* Our graduates, ourselves being judges, are not worthy even of our recognition, far less to hold that influential position in our university to which their zeal and activity, their collegiate and local influence, and the near neighbourhood to us of so many of their best men, seem peculiarly to entitle them; and would, but for that fatal objection which we thus painfully but thus unequivocally confess.'

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\* The committee appointed last session to inquire into reductions of expenditure expressly questioned the propriety of this vote.

ART. II.—*Autobiography of the Rev. William Walford.* Edited by John Stoughton. London: Jackson and Walford. Pp. 363.

IT has been our lot, of late, to be abundant in biographies. The British press, indeed, has teemed with this species of literature, until it has become almost an established custom with us, that so soon as any worthy person has passed away, his likeness—the mental and spiritual characteristics of him—shall be shown forth, not 'in dull, cold marble,' but by the magic working of the printing-press. The thing may be overdone. The 'lives' of tedious men will have only a leaden interest. The pencil of Raffaele had never given beauty to a Thersites; nor had even a Titian or a Rembrandt caused us to admire the physiognomy of the Second Charles. It were impossible to effect the apotheosis of a departed beadle; nor can the 'lives' of the dullest of mankind be rendered interesting, except by the spirit and energy with which they are written. It is sad when a ready writer takes it in hand to immortalize stupid mediocrity; for though one should dress and drill the Lilliputians like the 'household troops,' they are but pygmies after all; and the picture of the rotund burgomaster, though Titian painted it, gives us only the idea of well-fed obesity, prosperous in trade, and smiling in contentment and good-humour upon less fortunate beholders. The great danger is lest our sculptors should use their Carrara marble for the busts of unimportant men—lest our writers should condescend to be the biographers of those of whom candour could say this only, that they lived socially and harmlessly, and died peacefully. Now, if a book is to be made for every man who would like his 'Life' written, or who may have possessed estimable qualities, we shall speedily realize the literal and exact truth of that mournful predication of the Hebrew king, that 'Of making many books there is no end.' Of all the miserable books our imagination can picture, we know of none more completely so than a tedious biography. We look in it for life; we find death. We search for the record of glorious activities; we discern them not. We look for the 'human face divine,' sparkling with intelligence, and illumined by the kindness of a constant charity; we find our hero entranced, or asleep. We seek for spirit-stirring thought; we hear the mumblings of a dreamer. We ask for bread; we receive a stone. Some biographies of recent issue among us justly called forth these lamentations on our part; not that the subjects of them were altogether worthless, but that they were of that class of easy,

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virtuous citizens, who, though worthy to be remembered for many excellences, were altogether uninteresting as heroes. Every monk must not expect to be canonized. It is not every priest who is a Jerome or a St. Francis ; and we hold it to be a mistaken kindness, the exuberance of a too fond affection, which prompts the survivors so often to write biographies of their departed kindred. These remarks are not in the least intended to apply censoriously to the volume before us ; for in the subject of it there was much both to admire and to imitate. But by pointing out its folly, we would endeavour to rebuke the increasing practice of writing insignificant biographies.

As it was among the first which were successfully developed, so the historical is not the least among literary arts. A few only of the gifted of mankind have the faculty of narrating—that most simple power in which the great ‘Father of History’ so much excelled ; and among the almost innumerable historians and narrators whom every country has produced, but a few only have become renowned. He who is skilful in weaving the story of a nation’s fame, may be utterly incapable of successfully delineating the life of an individual ; just as a man may carve a statue like Thorwaldsen or Chantrey, who would be unable to execute a medallion. The historian has a vast field. Events are before him in masses ; and he can hardly colour too darkly the baseness of tyrannous perfidy and the wickedness of political intrigue. Society is before him in huge outline ; his groups are dense, and his figures colossal. In writing the history of an individual, however, there are needed the most accurate perception, a skilful exhibition of the minutest details, and the most careful colouring—a knowledge, not so much of the great principles which are motive in the cabinet and the field, as of the thought and purpose which sway the heart and influence the life. He who excels in landscape-painting is not always equally successful in miniature-drawing ; and often the writer of the history of a nation would prove to be an indifferent biographer. But when a man takes it in hand to write ‘memoirs of himself,’ there is need of excessive caution, lest he should present to the world a too flattering likeness of himself. Not every one can depict himself with Hogarth’s skill ; nor is it among the least difficult of tasks for a man accurately to delineate his own character. The admonition of the ancient sage—‘Know thyself,’ must be well heeded, and a philosophical analysis of his own psychology must be completed by him who describes his own growth mentally and spiritually. In every autobiography, from the nature of the case, there must be, often perhaps unwittingly, a considerable *suppressio veri*. Self-love, and ‘that last infirmity of noble minds,’ a wish to be well-

remembered by posterity, will compel the artist who attempts to portray himself, to be careful of his colouring, and prudent in the concealment of defects. What, however, with 'Confessions,' 'Recollections,' and those other works in which great minds have recorded their individual histories, autobiographical works are perhaps altogether both as interesting and as instructive as any historical writings whatsoever.

The volume before us comprises, in twenty-three gracefully-written 'Letters,' the autobiography of one lately removed from us, who, in his earlier life, filled some important posts of duty. Not ignorant of 'divine philosophy,' and, as it would seem, considerably acquainted with the great writers of antiquity, Mr. Walford has narrated, in an easy and pleasant style, the history of the growth and maturing of his mind; and though in the picture of himself he has drawn for us there are some gloomy traits, betokening a morbid sensitiveness and irritability, we find much both to interest and to instruct us. Telling his own story, his object clearly is, to quote the words of Foster, 'not so much to enumerate the mere facts and events of life, as to discriminate the successive stages of the mind, and to trace the progress of what may be called the character. In this progress consists the chief importance of life.' This picture, which, of course, could not be completed till after his decease, has been finished by his friend, Mr. Stoughton. The concluding part of the volume does not interest us so much as that which precedes it. The style sometimes reminds us of the week-evening lecture-desk; there is an occasional repetition of religious common-places, and of the peculiar technicalities of the pulpit phraseology. Objection might be made to the introduction of some matter which does not add to the grace of the narrative. We are too often assured of the piety of the deceased—whereas it had been better for the readers to have drawn their own conclusions in these matters from Mr. Walford's interesting Letters. There are, also, indications of the 'funeral-sermon' style of panegyric, which we do not admire. But we will not descend to minor criticisms. Doubtlessly, the editor did the best he could with the few materials he had at command; and on our part, while we commend the picture, we will not be angry at the flaws in the canvass.

William Walford was born in Bath, in 1773. Very early losing his father, he was taken by his mother to Nantwich, in Cheshire, her native town, where, at the age of nine years, he was sent to a grammar-school, to learn the rudiments of the Latin language. Like many others of the great and good of mankind, he delights to attribute his earliest and best instruction to his mother. The first lessons of religion, the first glimmering

ideas of the great truths of revelation, and the first knowledge of duty, he received from her ; acquiring from her teaching, as he afterwards writes, when an old man, 'a respect for morality and religion, which, in succeeding years of thoughtlessness and vicious indulgence, was never entirely eradicated.' The master of the school was a clergyman—a stern Draconian pedagogue, as it would seem, one of the principles of whose philosophy was, to influence the mental through the physical. So, if a boy's faculties were dull, he beat him ; if he was slow at receiving such intellectual nutriment as was to be obtained from the Eton Latin Grammar, and from Ovid's Metamorphoses, his preceptor inflicted frequent tortures upon his body ; acting upon the principle of counter-irritation, which, though no doubt an excellent practice in soothing some of the 'ills which flesh is heir to,' is in nowise remedial for the torpidity of mind.

We have much to object to in the general discipline of schools, though perhaps, at present, there is less severity in such establishments than formerly ; but we think even the present public-school system altogether objectionable. A number of lads, whose features differ not more than their mental capacities, are collected in one house from the four quarters of the kingdom. For them all—the gentle and the rude, the quick and the inert—the same drilling system is made use of ; though there may be differences of disposition and of talent among them, as great as between Carlo Dolce and Turner, Martin Luther and Titus Oates. But more serious objection lies against this system on account of its tendency to demoralize the young ; a tendency which William Walford experienced to his ultimate sorrow. In this school, the learning and recital of religious formularies and creeds formed no small part of education ; the saints'-days were diligently observed, 'followed by a holiday in the afternoon ;' and the Catechism—that which the Episcopal Church glories in—was imprinted on the memory of the young by those means which, if they are not the best that could be adopted for the desired result, are nevertheless remembered with sorrow. At the age of twelve years, young Walford was removed to Birmingham, to be apprenticed to an engraver for the term of seven years, and to live in a family nearly all the members of which were notoriously profane and immoral. In that busy town he was allured to vicious indulgence ; and then he learned how futile it is to compel schoolboys to an acquaintance with religious truths. All that he had acquired of catechism and of creed had no power to restrain him from many of those practices, so common in a large community, which enfeeble the body and degrade the mind. It happened, however, that there were, in the house he lived in, a few volumes of the books written by Mede, Shepherd, and others, in which one finds the

experiences of earth recorded in the completest assurance of their blissful issue ; and in which the scenes in a good man's life are described more as an enchanted paradise, than as the scenes of pilgrimage and warfare. Such stimulating divinity was far too strong and pungent for young Walford ; but an indirect benefit resulted to him from the perusal of it. He gradually became more thoughtful ; began to question seriously as to the destiny of his soul ; fretted under the bonds of his sin ; and struggled after that freedom of soul which divine truth alone can effect. Gloomy apprehensions filled his mind : he groped after the light, if haply he might find it, and wept under that servitude from which he knew not how to be delivered.

No natural process is altogether more orderly and beautiful than the development of truth in the soul. The true seeker always finds. The lamp of the Lord sheds no delusive ray ; and he who sought, in his anguish, for the solution of that which has ever been a great difficulty of mankind—‘ How shall man be just with God ? ’—came at length, after slow but certain processes, to the great central truth in the religious life, that he alone, who is ‘ justified by faith,’ has ‘ peace with God.’ Very simply and charmingly is the instructive story of his spiritual development related in this volume. The governing disposition of his heart became changed ; his entire moral constitution was transformed ; and he, who sought counsel from on high, found at length that Truth, before which the brightest conceptions of an inquisitive philosophy of old grow utterly dark. The history of the ‘ great change ’ is unaffectedly told ; and our readers will find that the narrator of it does not condescend to the enunciation of pious trivialities, nor to the use of a phraseology which grates upon the ear and pains the heart. He passed not at once ‘ from darkness to light,’ for the path of the just is as the shining light, which grows more and more unto the perfect day ; but the happy change of heart was wrought in strict accordance with those laws which govern the spiritual nature—that happy *becoming* which proceeds from stage to stage of its development, until the renewed heart is likened to its God. Concerning himself very little with the hair-splitting of dogmatic theology ; inquiring but little as to the truth of those curious speculations which the schoolmen brought to bear upon religion, darkening its beautiful light and confusing its simplicity ; and regardful rather to be right at heart, than distinctive in the niceties or particularities of a creed ; young Walford threaded his way through those almost inextricable labyrinths with which the Reformed theology so often perplexes the catechumen, and reached the ‘ truth as it is in Jesus.’ At the expiration of his apprenticeship, he formed the friendship of a Baptist minister in Birmingham—a man without education, and

rather restricted in his opinions. Of him Mr. Walford sought counsel ; and, naturally enough, he advised the close and constant study of the works of Toplady—strange food for a young mind which had made so recent an affiance with Christ's simple truth—particularly his quaint treatise on Necessity, which was written not so much perhaps to recommend to the doubter that doctrine which gives emancipation to the enslaved soul, as to hold up to ridicule the positions taken in reference to this stern dogma by John Wesley and his followers. Gladly he turned to the work of President Edwards on Free-will ; in the perusal of which, while it was an athletic exercise to his mental powers, the particular opinions he had embraced on this subject became unalterably determined. His Baptist friend advised him to enter 'the Christian ministry,' giving him no advice as to what sect he should join, but recommending him to study the distinctive principles of Nonconformity.

Mr. Walford began, accordingly, to investigate the causes of difference between the ministers in the Episcopal establishment and their Dissenting brethren. In the New Testament he read of the poverty and humiliation of the Man of Galilee ; that Peter was but a fisherman ; that the eloquent Paul had no higher occupation than that of a tent-maker ; and that the churches founded by him consisted, to some extent, of soldiers and slaves, or of men whose condition in life was but little superior to these, the poor and the lowly of mankind. Struck with the primitive simplicity of the Christian Church, he compared it with that which was called, *par excellence*, the Church in England. The successors of the apostles, as they boast themselves to be, he found surfeiting on the fat things of the richest country in Christendom. They had forgotten the fisherman and tent-maker, the prison and the cross ; but they could discourse with peculiar feeling on fair lands and prebendal stalls, on tithes and dues, and on the divine rights of covetousness and exclusiveness. The astonished student found the apostolical overseers of the English Church telling their yearly income by thousands ; lords of the land and powerful in the senate ; unapproachable in immaculate lawn, and reverend in the dignity which wealth and arrogance confer. He heard of Church laws which fretted the soul, and which, if need be, could manacle the body ; of ecclesiastical courts and their dungeons ; of widows' goods seized for tithes they could not pay, and of Nonconformists imprisoned for their breach of regulations which the Founder of Christianity forbade his followers to observe. He saw that avarice and greed were the distinguishing characteristics of many of the professed ministers of Him who commanded his apostles to be indebted to no man, and to be humble in fare and lowly in mien ; and that

the faith of the apostles was held by men whose incomes were regulated by Act of Parliament, and collected by the civil power. He found that the clergy themselves were, in many instances, the most obsequious servants of the State—a sacred police, impeding human progress by maintaining restrictive laws. Some of their number broke their necks at the steeple-chase and in the hunting-field ; some haunted the dens of vice, and betted vigorously at the cock-fight or on the race-ground ; some flirted in the pump-room at Bath, or lisped amatory nothings in parks and saloons ; some sat as magistrates in rigorous uprightness, to issue warrants to compel the payment of their own church-rates, or to commit the hungry for poaching, and the beggar for his poverty. A few only were preachers of righteousness, visitors of the poor, comforters of the mourner, and guides for the wandering ; and all were attached to a system of which no trace was discoverable in that book which contains the history of the true Church, and the whole duty of man. The inquiring convert, seeking how best he might serve the God he loved, was not long in forming a conclusion, after comparing the English Church with that Church of whose origin the New Testament contains so simple and clear a history. To subscribe to all that the Prayer-book contained, was impossible to him ; for he could not adopt the Jesuitical casuistry of putting a ‘non-natural sense’ on the dogmatical positions contained in that book. As an honest man, he conceived that that book meant what it expressed, and, with this understanding, he could not accord with all its propositions. As the Church system, therefore, is that which knows nothing of compromise, and, as its letter must be believed, or its entirety rejected, there was but one course open to Mr. Walford ; and he determined forthwith to attach himself to the much-despised Nonconformists. After the formation of this resolution, he joined the Congregational Church in Carr’s-lane, Birmingham, under the ministry of Dr. Edward Williams, whose name, for his learning and worth, will be held ‘in everlasting remembrance.’ By the advice of Dr. E. Williams, he obtained admission to Homerton College, then under the presidency of the Rev. John Fell. At that period, education was in much lower esteem among the Nonconformists than at present. The college discipline was loose and negligent ; the instruction was of an inferior kind ; and the attainments of the students generally insignificant. The whole system was bad ; sound in the theory of it, but irredeemably bad in practice.

The government of the Dissenting Colleges was in the hands of a promiscuous ‘Committee,’ composed of men who had really but little love for enlarged education, though they were laudably and peculiarly anxious, from the motive both of their piety and

that the college might stand well with the public, that the students should become good preachers, and faithful in the discharge of their high trust. But the construction of this committee was objectionable. It consisted of a few of the ministers of the London Congregational Churches, and also of a number of persons who were engaged in city-business, as merchants, warehousemen, and shopkeepers. Excellent men as these latter were, they could not sympathize with their students in either their duties or their wants; and, therefore, at one time they allowed them to live almost without restraint, or they treated them as if they had been school-lads, and annoyed them by many silly, petty restrictions. Experience has shown that the system never worked well. The students and the committee were in constant collision. The matters in dispute between them were often utter trifles; but, as some ignorant and supercilious persons sat on this committee, their dicta were as authoritatively given forth and as despotically enforced as those of any conclave with their Pontiff, or of any council of ten with their Doge.

In referring slightly to Mr. Walford's subsequent history, we will observe that after concluding his studies at Homerton College, he became the pastor of the Congregational Church at Stowmarket; whence he removed to Yarmouth, in which town his memory is still fragrant. After some years' residence in Yarmouth, he was appointed Hebrew and Classical Tutor at Homerton College, having for his colleague the ever-beloved and lamented Dr. John Pye Smith, whose piety and scholarly renown will redeem Homerton Old College from that oblivion into which otherwise, perhaps, it would fall. Mr. Walford held this office for seventeen years. There a gloom fell upon his mind—that most terrible malady which can afflict humanity. Compelled to relinquish his office, after various endeavours to heal 'a mind diseased,' he retired to Uxbridge, in 1838; living there in health and ease on a small estate he had purchased, spending the kindly winter of his age in those pursuits which, while they give dignity to the mind, expand and mature it; and in preparation for that unbroken sabbath in which he will have an everlasting gladness. Putting off 'this muddy vesture of decay,' Mr. Walford entered into rest on June 22nd, 1850.

We commend this volume to the attention of our readers. Serious, thoughtful, and chaste, it contains much food for meditation. The doubter and the erring, the happy and the sad, will find in its pages that which will guide and console them in the narrative of his life, whose 'Manner of Prayer,' 'Book of Psalms,' and 'Curæ Romanae' will cause him to be esteemed by posterity.

ART. III.—*The Planetary System; its Order and Physical Structure.* By J. P. Nichol, LL.D., Professor of Astronomy in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: James Nichol. 1850.

THE very title of an astronomical work, whether it be an original memoir, a systematic treatise, or a popular exposition, is fraught with the associations of sublimity and adoration. The hanging of the earth upon nothing, the sun and the moon in their courses, the planetary system and its manifold unity, the arrowy, yet obedient flight of comets, the classical, yet contemporary signs of the zodiac, the milky-way, the countless remainder of the starry firmaments, the unimaginable reach of space, are only a few of the external images called up in the modern mind by the word Astronomy. It always suggests to our remembrance one of the grandest and most expressive of the tropes of European poetry; a figure whose spirit came down upon the poet from the sacred heights of Hebrew lore. It occurs in a passage of the Dramatic Mystery of Faustus, in which Goethe speaks of Nature, in its relation to the Creator, as 'the garment thou seest him by ;' and sings like a cherub, if not with all the love of the unquestioning seraphim, concerning that ever-unfolding robe, as 'still aweaving on the roaring loom of time.' What a wide-flowing, and what a gorgeous vesture is this, wherein the Ancient of Days 'reveals yet conceals' his eternal and incomprehensible lineaments! How clear in its outward sweep, and how mysterious in its interior ground! How beautiful and inviting, but also how sublime and spirit-quelling! Above all, how innumerable are its parts and its shows; yet how simple do science and the instinct of the soul perceive its principle to be! What a surpassing variety, along with what a still more surpassing unity! 'How manifold are thy works, O Lord; in wisdom hast thou made them all!' Alas! if one had fifty volumes to fill, instead of only a few pages in a monthly periodical, space would fail almost any man of reading in these days to tell his neighbour what he knows about the world we live in; and all that the best-read scholar in Christendom possesses is but a tittle of what is known; and all that is yet discovered is but a tittle to what is knowable; and all that is yet to be found out by created intellect were but a tittle of that immeasurable fulness of truth which is comprehended in the original and Divine Mind.

Perhaps the most wonderful thing about astronomy is its history. To the idealist indeed, the marvellous story of the origin,

rise, and progress of that exulting science in the soul of man is its very substance and being. Even the materialist must consider the history of this (or any other) department of knowledge as both greater and more interesting than its objects, although these are no less glorious creatures than the stars of heaven. But the Christian philosopher, who organizes idealism and materialism into one living and altogether human frame of thought by means of the vital energy of a quickened conscience, must always take peculiar delight in tracing the footsteps whereby man has been led into the goodly tabernacle of Nature by his God. Partly under the influence of a theology too dishonouring to humanity, and partly, perhaps, owing to the mere love of antithesis, the works of the creature are too frequently put in injurious contrast with those of the Creator. 'God made the country, and man made the town.' So said Cowper, from a momentary and poetical point of view, or rather from a rhetorical one, for there is no poetry in it. But, as surely as he was at once a Christian and a poet, Cowper would never have insisted on so false a distinction except in one solitary and awful sphere—the sphere of moral good and evil. Apart from want of conformity to, or transgression of, the law of God—apart from self-assertion in the region of religious and moral duty—apart, in one word, from sin, it is rather to be said that the sinless works of man are the noblest of the works of God in nature. Is it not true that man draws his understanding from the inspiration of Heaven? Is it not God alone who can give us to will and to do according to his good pleasure, and that not only in the spiritual life which is hid with Christ in God, but also in the natural life of the soul? Are our whole substance and energy not created by him, sustained every moment by him, and operative in obedience to his physical, physiological, and psychological laws? Is a bird's nest, a rookery, or a beaver's settlement a work of God's, and not a palace, a cathedral, or a mighty city? Had the Creator more to do with the building of the octagonal cells of a beehive than with the orderly unfolding of the fabric of geometry, from the first problem in Euclid to the calculus of Leibnitz and Newton? But the argument is as obvious as it is cogent, and it needs not be prosecuted any further. A landscape is greater than the scene, inasmuch as it required more cunning and complex powers of nature to produce it; and a landscape by Turner is also, in this view, a more beautiful, as well as a greater work than what it represents, but the true Creator of both is He whose is 'the earth and the fulness thereof.' A Madonna of Raphael's is fairer, purer, nobler than ever was woman born; and she is also a rarer work of the unseen Master, who held and guided the hand of the painter. Lear,

Macbeth, and Othello are more precious and enduring than the Susquehannah and the Atlantic, the Andes and the Himmaleh, the equatorial tropics and the poles. Astronomy is more wonderful than the stars, and God is the Author of them both ; so that the history or providential unrolling of the scroll, wherein the planetary system and the firmamental scheme are emblazoned for the view of all intelligent eyes, is still more wonderful than astronomy itself. All absolute sciences and all true poems, in so far as they are untainted by sin, are more divine than the things they severally interpret or symbolize, save when those things are themselves divine. But if such facts have to be affirmed of other genuine books of knowledge, of architectures, sculptures, paintings, and poetries of every kind, what shall be said of the Bible ? It is not only the greatest of literary performances, but, according to this view, the greatest of all phenomena.

The famous cumulative argument of design, from Cicero down to Paley and the Bridgewater Treatises, has generally been deduced from the phenomena of the material or sensible element of the universe ; but that is certainly the lowest, as undeniably as it is the easiest, source of the current proof. Chalmers did a great service in drawing it from the higher level of the nature of man himself. Not that the argument is logical and coercive upon the sheer intellect ; it is perfectly understood now-a-days that it is no such thing, for no amount of cumulation can ever reach immensity. The ' Bridgewater Treatises ' were the unintentional means of putting an end to the idea that design demonstrates the undemonstrable, and thus theology proper gathered strength from their weakness. God is ' past finding out.' Infinitude of quality, and especially the infinitude of an infinite number of qualities, is insusceptible of definition ; and the indefinable cannot be proposed as a theorem, so that our God is, demonstrably by reason as well as assuredly to Christian faith, past finding out, and that in every available sense of these ever-memorable words. Although, however, this celebrated argument is as hollow as Paley's Christian Theology and Doctrine of Morals, in so far as the pure intellect or logical faculty is concerned with it, yet it tells with great force in a composite manner, partly through their intellect and partly through their conscience, upon the great majority of human thinkers. Along with a previous or simultaneous act of natural insight or common faith, in fact, the argument is irresistible to the half-logical, half-Christian, or even unatheistical mind. The philosopher perceives that it is naught as a demonstration ; the Christian is far above it by experience ; but the multitude of men are ready to second it with the still small voice of conscience, and so it is prevalent over them for good. It must also be remembered, that there are vast numbers

of the honest and professed disciples of our holy religion who are Christians of only small attainments ; and the display of divine wisdom, power, and goodness in creation is amazingly encouraging and delightful to such children in grace. They may mount to the higher vision upon nature as on a ladder. Nay, it is far from an unblessed, as it certainly is a most pleasing, exercitation of the maturer scholar in the life and life's lore of Christianity, to walk abroad betimes and behold the beauty and exceeding goodness of his Father's transcending ingenuity and boundless fertility of resources for the benefit and delectation of his brethren and himself : the heirs of God, the joint-heirs of Christ, one with the Father and the Son, the true and indefeasible lords of the creation. For although not worth anything when considered as a merely intellectual or logical process, the argument of design is most glorious as a commentary upon certain of the perfections of the Lord of life, his existence and attributes (as those *a-posteriori* schoolmen are in the habit of saying) being known to the faithful neither by arguments nor by mathematics, but by faith, by participation, and enjoyment. It is, therefore, highly desirable that this great argument should be written anew.

It further appears that it could be urged far more effectively, because more humanly, in connexion with the historical developments of the sciences. Such a procedure would necessarily bring forward all the capital and illustrious points of what is called design, while it would present them in relation with the hearts and minds and outward fortunes of the discoverers. It would drench the subject in flesh and blood ; to quote a homely but powerful expression of Lord Bacon's, one of the quickeners of science. But, above all, it would show forth the excessive and adorable wisdom of the Father of our spirits, in declaring how the right man always came at the right time ; how specifically he was in every instance qualified for his particular task ; and how all things were made to open around him for the doing of his work. It would display before our sympathetic view in what a providential manner the very superstitions and errors of his age, the contradiction of sinners, the apathy of a light-hearted world, and the faults of the new thinker's own character, were all made to work together for the good of man, under the soft compulsion of celestial forethought. While the special providence and plan of God's government is as wonderfully manifested in the experience of the lowliest of the sons of sorrow, as in that of the greatest king, discoverer, or poet that ever lived ; yet it is more conspicuously, and therefore visibly shown in the outward and relative life of the latter. In the one case, it is private and particular ; in the other, it is published and intended for the

world. The history of science is the history of man considered under one of his most important aspects—namely, as the reconqueror of nature and the interpreter of its Creator. It has one advantage over all the other departments of human history ; it is more certain and intelligible, for there is almost nothing to vitiate the judgments of the historian. The theologian, the politician, and the artist cannot fail to write their histories more or less under the influence of the predisposition of their opinions and their tastes ; and uniformity of sentiment is yet far to seek in those ‘still vexed Bermuthes’ of man’s endeavour after the calm of completed truth. But the history of science is almost as positive as science itself. The contemporary life of science, indeed, is a bitter and a weary strife, always with nature, generally with man, and frequently with personal imperfection ; at least, it has been such in the experience of all the masters we have ever heard of ; but there cannot be either dispute or embitterment in the general narrative of scientific story, unless the historian wilfully embroil himself with the poor personalities of the past.

The history of astronomy is a marvellous illustration of divine preparation of the way, adaptation of men to their parts in the great work, and forethoughtful contrivance of a higher order than that which deals in mechanical compensations, chemical coincidences, or the physiological wonders of plants and animals. The unfolding and uplifting of man’s conception of the earth and its heaven have been as providential as they have been gradual. The natural view of this world, and the populous sky by which it is over-canopied, is set forth with unsurpassable simplicity and beauty in the Old Testament ; and especially in the book of Job and in the Psalter. ‘The heavens declare the glory of God ; and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. . . . In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun, which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it ; and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.’ Such is a well-known example of scripture language concerning the more obvious phenomena of this science. The grand and distinguishing thing about these descriptions, however, is neither their truth to the appearance of things, nor yet their poetic sublimity ; it is their invariable association with right conclusions, their impenetration with right feelings ; it is their moral thoughtfulness and spiritual power. ‘For all the gods of the nations are idols ; but the Lord made the heavens.’ ‘Bless the Lord, O my soul. O Lord, my God, thou art very great ; thou art clothed with honour and majesty. Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment ; who stretchest out the heavens

like a curtain.' 'When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained ; what is man, that thou art mindful of him ? and the son of man, that thou visitest him ?'

While David, else his sire, 'tis all the same,  
Lay long ago upon some purple hill,  
To guard his sinless flock from nightly ill,  
The golden sun went home ; the pale moon came,  
A slender crescent wove of silver flame ;  
And one by one, at first, then ten by ten,  
The stars slipt out, and in, and out again,  
Until a thousand prankt the sapphire frame.  
Some red, some blue, and others like the moon,  
And also some like little suns at noon ;  
He knew them well, although unknown by name ;  
They shone all night for love, and not for fame.  
Lord, what is man, he cried, that such a choir  
Should overwatch him thus with eyes of fire !

But this is all according to the truth of appearance, not the truth of reality ; it is the language of perception, not that of reflection ; it is common sense, not science. The sun only appears to rise in the east, mount the zenith, and set in the west, now more to the north, and now more to the south. Astronomy discovers that, although rotating on its axis, and moving along with both the earth and the moon, through a celestial space undreamed of in the days of yore, the sun is fixed and immovable in relation to our globe ; it is the earth that circles round the sun from west to east, and therefore he seems to pass over our sky from east to west. Science disabuses us of the seeming, and finds us the real state of things. It is the very same in all departments. There is everywhere a truth of appearance enveloping a truth of reality like a protecting fruit, and it is the business of science to penetrate to the kernel. But it is a long and laborious process, and it is little that one man can achieve : *ars longa, vita brevis*, said Hippocrates, a great observer and an eager, if not a successful disentangler of appearances. It has frequently been little that even a whole great nation of men has been able to do in this way. The Jewish people, for example, from Abraham down to Habbakuk, cannot be said to have been a scientific people. They put no new interpretations upon nature ; they were content with the poor fragments they brought away from Egypt. Moses was doubtless accomplished in all the learning of the court of the Pharaohs ; and the sacred literature of his people is strewed with indications, for instance, of that visceral physiology, in consequence of which the language of Christendom speaks of the heart as the organ of love, the

spleen of malice, and the liver of blackbile or melancholy. 'Try my reins and my heart.' Solomon, indeed, is said to have written many books upon the vegetable kingdom, from the hyssop that springeth on the wall to the cedars of Lebanon ; but such botanical literature does not come under the category of science, as the discoverer and teacher of that greater reality which lies under the appearances of things. The Hebrews did not seek to penetrate beyond the surface of nature by the scientific organ, because they dived at once to its centre by the act of faith, and saw it to be but the manifesting forth of the glory of their God. Knowing its origin in Jehovah, they were content with the result, and neglected the process. Not that they were admirable in this respect ; for, on the contrary, it was one of their wants ; but humanity is unfolding by degrees. For the most part, one nation does only one thing ; and the children of Abraham have most assuredly done the greatest, or rather the God of Abraham has done the greatest of the divine works in this world through their instrumentality.

But the great truth to be noticed with unfeigned delight in this connexion is as follows. The presence of the mere truth of the appearance of things, the absence of the science of their interior reality, is a matter of no moment in the highest point of view. The fair seemings of nature are just as good as the strange realities of science for all moral and spiritual purposes. What expressions could be more beautiful, more holy, more compulsive on the conscience, or even more sublime than those which have been quoted above ! It is not the object which inspires, but the spirit to be inspired by it, that gives the inspired result ; wherefore the biblical poets, with the minimum of scientific object, have absolutely produced the maximum of spiritual result. Yet it may also be set down as a most gracious ordination of the Supreme Mind, that mankind had by no means to await the slow evolution of science, before laying hold of the choicest of the healing fruits of nature. The outside of creation is more harmonious, and therefore more beautiful in fact, than the unequal, though magnificent sections of science ; deeper and clearer here than there, more elaborated at one part than another, and altogether gloriously fragmentary rather than a living unit like the world itself. Moreover the sensuous and poetic, as well as probably the moral and spiritual, character of man is specifically adapted to receive the seraphic shining of the countenance of Nature, rather than to catch the cherubic light that comes from her secret heart when it is opened by the prayer of might, even the faithful labour of the true explorer. Love wants beauty and intellect wants truth. Doubtless the complete man wants both. Doubtless a nation or a world which shall be

as perceptive of holiness and the beauty of holiness as the Hebrews ; as perceptive of beauty and the sacredness of beauty as the Greeks ; as capable of being governed and of governing as the Romans once were ; as sensible of the relations of outward things, from starry firmaments and nebulae down to chemical atoms, as modern Christendom ; as firm of purpose as Great Britain, and so forth through all the national virtues of history, were something incomparably more excellent than them all put together. But in the meantime it is most exhilarating to see how provision was made from the beginning for the voice of Nature, still virgin from the touch of science, reaching and arousing the conscience of man. Science is good for godliness, but godliness is independent of science.

For all popular and practical purposes, the history of astronomy may be said to have begun with the speculations of the Greeks ; although, on one hand, the fundamental principles of the Ptolemaic system (namely the standing still of the earth and the circular revolution of its sky) were drawn from the Chaldeans, probably by way of Egypt ; and, on the other, the progress of positive astronomy is always to be dated from Copernicus, the contemporary, though the senior of Luther. Beginning with the Oriental stellography, as rendered intellectually clear by the Greek mind, the development of the science is traced, with great precision of outline, felicity of illustration, and gracefulness of feeling, in the book which has given rise to this short dissertation ; and certainly no man, at present visible within the literary horizon, could write the history of astronomy, as a substantive and classical work for the study of the whole world, so well as Professor Nichol. It is a noble toil, in fact, which we take this opportunity of recommending to his thoughts. It would be a labour of love to write so illustrious a thing ; it would be an exercise of love to read it ; and the scholar, who shall accomplish the task with classical perfection, will certainly live for ever in the affections of mankind.

It may be interesting and instructive, in the meantime, to contrast the cosmographical conceptions of the Ptolemaic and the Copernican Astronomies, taking them both in the greatest fulness of their development ; the former in the time of Purbach, ' who succeeded in expressing the order and simplicity of the solar system by a scheme of ninety-six spheres of crystal ;' and the latter in our own day, the Augustan age of observation. For the narrative of revolution and growth, which should lead the mind from the former to the latter of these extreme periods in the life of the science, the reader must recur to any of the accredited histories of astronomy. He will probably content himself with the free and slight, but eminently truthful indica-

tions in the popular works of our present author ; awaiting the coming of some altogether satisfactory record, learned in spirit but popular in form, extensive, yet so well organized as not to be large, at once scientific and humane.

The Ptolemaic conceived of the earth as a sphere, but without either geometrical definition or positive knowledge. A circular sphere, of which the then known world was the upper surface, a sort of solid crown upon the globe of waters, was his image of the globe we live on. This ocean-rounded ball was the centre and the final cause of creation. Hanging upon nothing, it lay as still as silence in the midst of the universe, the vast metropolis of Nature. Seven planets revolved around her in their several planes of distance from her dismal centre. First came the Moon, the changeful star of mothers and the chase. Next came Mercury, the friend of genius. Venus, the queen of hearts, went round the earth outside of the Moon and Mercury. The Sun, the king of day, the lord of the planets, Delios, the star of wisdom, Apollo, the king and priest of beauty, Hercules, the doer of wise and beautiful deeds, wove his dazzling sphere around the world at a distance more remote than Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. Beyond him, on the other hand, there revolved red Mars, great Jupiter, and old Saturn in their order. Such was the constitution of the planetary system ; the earth, or rather the universe, and its seven planets. Each of these planets was the Shekinah of a God to the priest or poet, the seat of a divine power to the philosopher, the source of a cosmical energy to the man of science. They had a secret correspondence with the seven openings of the human head, that globular microcosm, which corresponded with the great globe of Nature herself ; the two eyes, the two ears, the two nostrils, and the mouth. Francesco Sizzi argued, even in the days of Galileo, that there could not possibly be more nor fewer than seven planets in the sky, because there are only these seven windows in the head of man, which is its antitype. Each of the planets had also a metal to itself, wherefore there could not exist more than seven metals and seven planets. Luna was silver, Mercurius was quicksilver, Venus was copper, Sol was gold, Mars was iron, Jupiter was tin, and Saturn was lead. The days of the week were likewise sacred to their respective planets, arranged, however, not according to their local position in the scheme, but according to their value as lights, beginning with Sunday and Monday ; but it was doubtless the mythological relations of that series that gave it currency and reverence in the world.

The Ptolemaic furthermore conceived of this complicated, yet simple scheme, of the earth with its greater and lesser lights, as surrounded by a far-drawn and revolving sphere of constellations

and signs, composed of unwandering or fixed stars. This vast astrorama was the outermost boundary and glorious enclosure of creation proper. Beyond it lay two starless spheres. One of these was the subject of a transcendental motion, the communicator of movement, indeed, to the inner spheres (from the constellations to the moon inclusive), and limited on both sides. The other, enclosing the whole universe and its sources of power, stretched athwart the immensity of space. It knew no boundary on the thither side. It was as moveless as the world at the centre of the system. It was the empyrean, the heaven of heavens, the boundless and ethereal antithesis of the hard little earth ; the dwelling-place of the Godhead, of the angelic hosts, and of the spirits of just men made perfect. The true opposite of this all-expansive house of joy, or of ' serenity which is joy fixed,' black hell lay crushed and crowded within the rock-built depths of the central earth, ' far as the poles asunder.' The dry land, the abode of man, stretched between them ; under the smile of heaven and over the rage of hell, but more native to the place of woe.

The Ptolemaic was by no means content with this general conception of the objective constitution of the universe. Unable to measure distances, he made a vast number of useful observations, and constructed the most ingenious hypotheses for the explanation of what he knew. The reader of a review, published in the year 1851, is of course aware that the daily revolution of the whole heavens, moon, sun, constellations and all, is nothing but a truth of appearance : it is owing to the diurnal rotation, or spinning on its axis, of the earth, from which we look into the sky. But it was early noticed that individual stars in the throng are constantly changing their places in reference to others, say, in the course of a month or a year. The sun, for instance, does not go round so quickly as the sky in general. Standing in one place (among the other stars) at noon one day, he is somewhat to the east of that place at noon next day. He is later in coming round than the stars among which he stood the day before. This little difference in his apparent position among the stars occurs every day, so that in the course of a whole year the sun has actually seemed to travel through the whole sky of stars. The circle, along which this apparent travelling of the sun through the signs of the Zodiac takes place, is now called the Ecliptic. Now this phenomenon, which the Copernican refers with certainty to the annual revolution of the earth around the sun, was attributed by the Ptolemaic to the (supposed) fact that the sun goes round the earth with a velocity rather less than that of the constellations ; a view which certainly met all the wants of the case, to the extent that they were then

known. The same hypothesis was of course applied to the moon, only that her movement is still slower than that of the sun, for she traverses the whole sky of stars, always along her own ecliptic, in the course of a month ; a phenomenon now-a-days explained by her periodical circumvolution of the earth.

The uninitiated may possibly be at a loss to understand how the position of the sun among the stars was observed, seeing his own radiance extinguishes their light. But the sky was well understood as regarded its mere appearances from very early ages. From the observations of the night, pursued year after year, the starry arrangements of the day could always be inferred. The procession of the sun through the twelve signs of the Zodiac was, therefore, a matter of easy recognition ; the seasons of the year, and the year itself, were determined by it ; while it furnished the mythologist with a framework for the stories of Osiris, Horus, Vishnu, Hercules, and their labours for man. Besides, it is to be remembered that the visibility of the stars by day, from the bottom of a deep pit, was a fact of immemorial notoriety. Hence Democritus the laughing philosopher, the first to perceive that the Milky-Way is a forest of stars so thickly strewn as to seem like one mass of light at the surface of the earth, was also the first to remark that ' truth is to be found at the bottom of a well.' It was the same Democritus, be it mentioned in passing, that first descried how sensible matter—a crystal or a plant, or any other figure—is just a sort of milky-way of atoms. Such is the unity of nature, and such the love of unity in the man of science !

The observation of the sky presented many a difficult problem to the old school of astronomy, but they were always resolved with ingenuity. One of them is illustrious on account of its general historical importance, as well as for its particular connexion with the admirable name of Plato. The planets were seen to wander from their relative places, not content with only going slower than the sphere of constellations. It is from this circumstance and truth of appearance, in fact, that they derive their name of planets, or wanderers, in contrast with the fixed stars ; and not from their real and (now) known journeyings round the sun, as one might readily suppose. Several of the planets, then, such as Jupiter, were perceived to make their (apparent) revolutions round the earth in an irregular manner ; sometimes going back a little, then forward again ; sometimes making visible circles or loops, as they passed along the curve of their great and systematic circles round the world. It was the father of philosophical idealism that supplied the explanation of such (seemingly) eccentric movements. Let us use an illustration of Professor Nichol's :—

‘ If I walk along the circle of an amphitheatre with a lamp in my hand, a spectator at the centre would of course perceive it passing regularly around him in a circle. But suppose that I am likewise turning on my heel all the while, how would the spectator then imagine the lamp to be moving? In reality, there would be nothing here except regular circular motions; namely, my course around the amphitheatre, and my wheeling round on my heel. The spectator however, looking at the lamp, would observe neither the one nor the other of these separate regular motions, but their result, or rather the result of their combination; and, although he would see that the course of the lamp was still in the main through the entire circuit of the amphitheatre, it could no longer be expected to move with any regularity. Nay, were I moving swiftlier on my heel than I moved forward, the lamp must ever and anon appear to go backwards for a little.’

This ingenious rationalè took root, germinated, and grew to such an amplitude in the mind of Ptolemy of Alexandria, as to cover the phenomena of the whole heavens, as then understood. It was this idea and its application, in truth, that constituted the essence of the Greek or Ptolemaic contribution to astronomy; inasmuch as the general notion of the constitution and movement of the universe, as conceived of until the coming of Copernicus, was far more ancient than Greece and all her schools. The secondary, or small and specific circles of the planets were called their epicycles; their great circlings round the earth being their respective cycles. The specific results of the several cyclical and epicyclical movements of planets—that is to say, their wanderings—were sought out and recorded with industry and care; and proper epicycles were devised for the solution of each case. When observations multiplied, the difficulty of this theory increased. Epicycles had in many cases to be put upon epicycles, until the scheme became as wonderful for complexity, as for the inventive talent displayed in its (imaginary) construction and its adaptation to every new emergency. At length, the whole mechanism was resolved into a system of ninety-six cyclical, epicyclical and epi-epicyclical spheres, as has been mentioned already. ‘ If God had asked my advice about creation,’ said Alphonso the Wise of Spain, ‘ I would have drawn up a simpler and also a more reasonable plan.’ But theories often make men in love with complexity; drawing them on step by step, until they are hopelessly lost in an inextricable jungle of appearances.

‘ Things bad begun make strong themselves by worse,’

whispers the voice of conscience in Macbeth. It is as true in science as it is true in life. The later disciples of this Chaldaean and Greek Astronomy proceeded to strange extremities in some instances: abandoning the pure and abstract method of geometry,

they actually converted the planetary spheres and epispheres into hard realities of the material sort ; and changed the heavens into a mechanical orrery of crystalline globes, with planets and stars flaming in their zeniths !

Such was the system of astronomy which satisfied the thought of man during the progress of more than fourteen hundred years. The whole mind of Christendom was subject to this conception of the universe. Poets, men of science, mathematicians, philosophers, all lavished their confidence, their knowledge, and their eloquence upon it. It had grown so slowly over the mind of those ages, that its hold was very firm ; it bound the intellect of all observers with tremendous compulsion. No man was found strong enough to break its bands in sunder, till Kopernik saw and believed the truth. How great an organ is the intellectual eye of a seer ! The phenomena of the heavens were the same to all other star-gazers as to this humble Pole ; the venerable and immensely authoritative interpretation put upon them for fourteen centuries and more was the same, yet it did not satisfy him. He felt, he thought, he saw, that it was wrong ; he forefelt, forethought, and foresaw that something like the reverse of it is true. Perhaps it was comparatively little to do this ; probably many had done it, in a manner. The great human act in this case, as in others that could be named, was the believing in his thought. It was the mighty act of bursting from the bondage of immemorial authority. It was his high self-trust that made Copernicus strong and glorious : say rather, it was his humble, unwavering, fearless, and devout belief of the thing God showed him ; for belief is the one wonderworker in the world. Few men are capable of belief in any sphere beyond the reach of sense. Everybody knows that fire burns, water drowns, or food fills ; but very few people believe aught that is purely intellectual, and still fewer aught that is purely spiritual, with anything like the keen and close fidelity wherewith they put their trust in food, or water, or fire. Nobody would believe he might thrust his hand into the flames with impunity, even if all the rest of the world should go mad and swear loud oaths to the innocuousness of burning coals. It were easy to stand in a minority of one in that case ; nay, the unconquerable difficulty would be the task of joining the majority ; but so quick and vital a spirit of faith, extending to regions above the domain of the senses, is the attribute only of rare men. The mere courage, which braves the whole world, is a vulgar quality in comparison with this undivided, uncalculating, incorruptible, and perfect belief in the objects of moral, intellectual, or spiritual vision. Probably the man has not yet been born, endowed with an equal faithfulness of sight in all the spheres of human life. The saint lives and moves among spirituals with the same

irremissible certainty, as the man of his senses among the objects of sensation ; to the philosopher ideas are as real as general conceptions or laws to the man of science ; and so forth. But take the world as it is, and you will find very few men or women now on it who can trust a principle, as they cannot help trusting their food, so as to long for it, consider it with delight, eat it with confidence, digest it with gratitude, and live on it with comfort. Copernicus could and did.

Born in 1473, at Thorn, in Prussian Poland ; educated at Cracow ; he studied philosophy and medicine at Padua : whence he made excursions to Bologna, for the purpose of seeing the then illustrious Maria of Ferrara, whose assistant and friend he in good time became. On the 7th of the ides of March, in 1496, they observed an occultation of Aldebaran after the manner of the Greek astronomers. Dominic Maria recommended his young fellow-labourer to the chair of Astronomy in Rome itself, to which he was called in 1499. It is recorded how his eloquence drew so numerous and select an audience around him as to recall the splendid successes of Regiomontanus. It seems to have been while engaged in the exposition of the Ptolemaic doctrine that the sense of its insufficiency fell upon his soul. But old Rome in the reign of Pope Alexander VI., with his profligacies and his contests, was too troubrous a dwelling-place for a rapt explorer like this teacher of astronomy ; and he returned to Cracow in 1502. If he had been a lover of money, he might have practised physic ; or of reputation, he might have lectured on astronomy :—but he was enamoured of the new thought that glowed and grew before the enchanted eye of his mind, and therefore he sought seclusion and repose. He entered into holy orders, and, upon the recommendation of his maternal uncle, the bishop of Warmia, became a canon at Frauenburg on the Vistula in 1510. Having thus retired from the world at thirty-seven years of age, he discharged the sacred duties of his office with piety and self-devotion, bestowed his great medical knowledge on the poor of the little city of his choice, and devoted all his leisure to the working out of the thought with which he had been visited during the free unhoused condition of his youth. A weary time he had of it for the most part. Those sad dogs and bastard sons of the Reformation, the knights of the Teutonic order, would let neither Frauenburg nor Copernicus alone. They harassed him with their summonings, their accusations, and their inroads, for many a year. So great a tide of animosity rose against him at one period of his peaceable career, that he was mocked upon the stage, and hustled in the street. In fact, he was long exposed to all the paltry, yet spirit-breaking annoyances of public ingratitude and disfavour : and it is all the more vexing to think of

such sufferings, that they were not incurred for his discoveries, for he had not yet made them known.

Meanwhile it was an immeasurable labour that lay before him. The old observations of the science had to be repeated with more exactitude and in the light of a new principle; observations of an altogether new kind had to be undertaken; and all the difficulties of applying a new and daring principle to both ancient and new-born facts had to be overcome. His old fellow-students at Cracow, Kobylinski, Waposki, Szadecki and Ilkuski, rendered him yeomen's service in the great work. It is amazing to think what this pious country pastor and his metropolitan comrades accomplished in the way of observation without a telescope, with nothing but a paralactic instrument of jointed wood! But we hang too long over this dear story of a noble life. Suffice it, that he brought the manuscript of his work *De Revolutionibus* to a close in 1530, that is to say, in his fifty-seventh year; having, in the meantime, designed certain public works, drawn up reports on the currency question of his day, managed the temporal affairs of his difficult directory with skill, practised physic somewhat extensively, and also discharged with fidelity the duties of his holy office. His aid was sought by the commission of the Lateran Council, in the great business of reforming the calendar; and he gave it from his observations, without broaching his discovery. Yet not a few mathematicians and astronomers were privy more or less to his views. Erasmus Reinhold ventured to predict, in a discourse on the Ptolemaic system, that another Ptolemy would come out of Prussia. Nicholas Schomberg, the cardinal of Capua, was enthusiastically interested in his ideas, and sent a competent person to take copies of his commentaries and tables. Rheticus, the young professor of mathematics at Wirtemburg, threw up his chair, and betook himself to the reformer of astronomy so early as 1539. Nor had he been two months in the society of Copernicus, when he wrote a letter to Schöner, a venerable mathematician then professing at Nurnberg, who had charged him to do so; a letter full of joy and admiration; in which the system of the Polish master was partially unfolded. That letter forms a supplement to the *De Revolutionibus*, and it appears in the works of Kepler under the title of the *Narratio prima*, the first news of the victory. In short, Rheticus was fascinated for life; his existence became absorbed in Copernicus and his work; and he was thenceforth and for ever the enlightened, obedient, and happy planet of the new sun that had risen on his soul. He wrote letters of enthusiastic description and exposition to all his eminent friends in science, and more than one of them was published; so that the Copernican doctrine was widely known among the

competent before it was formally made public. He at length, in 1552 (thirteen years after his absorption), got a tract by Copernicus on Spherical Trigonometry published at Wittemberg; and this increased the zeal of the capable for our discoverer. Doubtless this self-devotion and veneration of Rheticus, together with the enthusiastic regard of a scattered band of competent and eager disciples, must have proved a sweet compensation for the obstruction and enmity of the world at large. Indeed such a man needed no compensation, perhaps, for discovery is its own exceeding great reward, and the conflict of the explorer strengthens his heart still more than it illuminates his mind. At the time they were mocking him from city to city on the public stage, some of his friends endeavoured to stop the wretched buffoons, and cheat the people of their sport. 'Let them alone,' said he: *Nunquam volui populo placere; nam quæ ego scio, non probat populus, quæ probat populus, ego nescio.* 'Let them enjoy themselves, for it is but fair, since I have never tried to please them; they take no delight in the things I know, and I am quite ignorant of the things they take delight in; therefore let them have their fun out of me in their own way!'

At length Gisius, the (Polish) Archbishop of Culm, backed by Cardinal Schomberg, persuaded Copernicus to complete the great work, which he had really finished in all but a few additional details many years before. The manuscript was sent to Rheticus; Rheticus chose Nurnberg for its publication; Schöner and Osiander lent him their aid; Osiander wrote a timid and deprecatory preface; and after a world of difficulty it was actually published. The first copy was sent with expedition to the author. It was just in time. Old age, toil, and adversity had brought him low at last. A bloody flux and the paralysis of his right side had rendered him unfit for intellectual labour for some time. His very memory was almost gone. He was just dying when the printed copy of his work was brought him. He looked at it, he caressed it with his hands; then put it from him like one who had something else to do, received the last offices of the Church, and expired. It was on the 23rd of May, in the year 1543. He was seventy years of age. How original, industrious, effectual, beneficent, unostentatious, manly and pious a career! *Atque hujusmodi quidem vita, hujusmodi mors Copernici fuit*, says Gassendi, who seems to have been as deeply impressed by the consideration of the discoverer's piety, as by his vast originality and his Herculean success. He died as he had lived.

All that concerns us at present in this epochal work, on the revolutions of the celestial orbs, is what is summed up in a passage, which we shall translate with close fidelity. 'Of the wanderers (errantium) the first is Saturn, who completes his

circuit in thirty years. After him comes Jupiter, moving in a duodecennial revolution. Then Mars, who goes round in a biennial one. The annual revolution holds the fourth place ; in which we have said the earth is contained, together with the lunar orb somewhat like an epicyclical body. In the fifth place Venus revolves within the space of nine months ; and, finally, Mercury takes the sixth place, running round in eighty days. In the true midst of all sits the Sun. For who could place that lamp in another or a better place, within this fairest temple, than there whence it can illuminate the whole ? Some, indeed, do not inappropriately call it the light, others the mind, and others the director of the world. Trismegistus says it is God visible. Sophocles says its rays are electrous, quickening all things. Wherefore in very truth the sun seems to sit on a royal throne, and govern the circumvolving family of stars.'

This is the germ of that full-grown astronomy of the planetary system, into which we propose to take a rapid glance, in order that it may be put before the mind in contrast with the Ptolemaic scheme ; and thereby kindle something like a kindly longing to know the eventful story of astronomical discovery. Without inquiring any further, then, into the facts, conceptions, and speculations of the generous founder of positive astronomy ; and without even the slightest notice of the coming of Galileo, of Tycho Brahe, of Kepler, of Newton, or of Herschel on this high arena—to name no lesser names—let us consider, and that in a very general manner, how the Copernican conceives of the solar system in this the middle of the nineteenth century. It will render us grateful to the industrious and conscientious men by whom the wondrous mechanism has been displayed and magnified ; grateful to the great interpreter, to whose virtue and genius we stand indebted for so glorious a new conception of our Father's house of many mansions ; and grateful to God, who is the true and original author of astronomy, as well as of the stars.

The earth is a huge oblate or orange-shaped sphere, spinning on its shorter axis like a humming-top, yet at such a rate of speed as to seem standing still ; it goes once round in twenty-four hours, its rotation being both the cause and the measure of day and night. The highest mountains range from four to five miles in height ; the greatest depth of the ocean is probably little more than five miles, although Ross let down 27,000 feet of sounding-line in vain on one occasion. So that the earth's surface is very irregular ; but its mountainous ridges and oceanic valleys are no greater things in proportion to its whole bulk, than the roughness of the rind of the orange it resembles in shape. The geological crust—that is to say, the total depth to which geologists suppose

themselves to have reached in the way of observation—is no thicker in proportion than a sheet of thin writing paper pasted on a globe two feet in diameter. The surface of the earth is some 148,500,000 of miles in extent; and only one-fourth of that large space is dry land, the rest being ocean and ice. The atmosphere rises all round to a height between forty-five and fifty miles above the sea-level. The solar radiance sends such heat as it brings no deeper anywhere than 100 feet into the surface or scurfskin of the dry land—from forty to a hundred feet, one-third of the sun's heat being absorbed by the air. Yet the deeper man digs beyond the hundred feet, the warmer he finds the earth, and that at a somewhat determinable rate of increase. Supposing that rate of increment to go on towards the centre, it is computable that the solid underwork of the world, say granite by way of conjecture, must be in a state of fusion at no vast depth from the ground on which we tread. Let the scientific imagination descend a little lower, and it will find the melted granite in the form of a fiery vapour or gas—the dry stream of a red-hot liquid, in which the rock-built foundations of 'the everlasting hills' melt like icebergs. But this is conjectural and probable, not observable and proved.

Far away from this spinning and perilous globe of ours, at the distance of some 79,500,000 miles, stands the sun. A ray of light, starting from his surface at any given moment, takes eight minutes to reach us, although light runs at the speed of 195,000 miles in a second. The sun is 1,380,000 times as large as the earth, and 355,000 times as heavy; but the stuff of which he is made is just about a fourth part as dense as the average matter of this world. The sun is of as light a substance, taking his whole body, as coal; whereas the earth is twice as heavy as brimstone, striking the mean between the air, the ocean, the dry land, and the internal vapour. The sun has an atmosphere like the earth, or rather he has two. One of them, close upon his solid surface, seems to resemble our own; it bears cloudy bodies in its upper levels. The other is a sort of fiery gas, surrounding the former, kindled and sustained in the calorific and luminous state, no man knows or can conjecture how. Storms in the lower atmosphere are constantly blowing this phosphorescent airy envelope aside, so as to afford us glimpses down into the (comparatively) dark and black recesses beneath. These are the spots on the sun. Galileo inferred the rotation of the sun on his axis from the motions of those spots. The explanation of those spots, afforded by the discoveries of Wilson and Herschel, diminishes the value of the inference; but no Copernican can doubt that the sun is for ever turning, and that with unimaginable swiftness and impetuosity.

At the distance, then, of more than seventy-nine millions of miles, this dim spot which men call earth, this great globe and all its dwellers, this ever-spinning planet revolves around the sun once every year, that revolution being both the cause and the measure of that space of time. Its orbit is not a circle ; it is an ellipse, but not very far removed from the circular path. The terrestrial axis is not at right angles to that ellipse, else there were no seasons ; it is somewhat inclined. For a most lucid, and yet uplifting description of the effects of this inclination, and indeed for a singularly vivid, picturesque, sublime, and yet systematic narrative of the natural history of the solar system at large, the reader should have recourse to the authoritative pages of Professor Nichol. It is enough for our present purpose that this earth, once regarded as the fixed and solid centre of creation, is now to be conceived of as a globular sphere of some fire-blown stream, bounded by a film of rock like a soap-bubble, carrying an unresting sea in the hollows of its rind, swathed in a soft gauze of air, going round upon itself every day, running round the sun every year ; and all that with so much silence, security, and stillness of speed that nobody ever suspects the dread predicament of physical circumstance in which he wakes and sleeps, lives and dies, does good or evil, and passes away to judgment. It is difficult to realize the truth, now that it is told ; for the knowledge of the intellect is one thing, and the consent of the whole man is quite another.

Precisely as the earth goes round the sun from year to year, the moon goes round the earth from month to month, and that at a distance of some 240,000 miles ; the same lunar side or hemisphere being always turned towards us, although that satellite turns upon her own axis as well as the earth and the sun. The earth is in repose so far as the moon is concerned ; it is her sun. The two combined, being as true a unity as any chemical molecule which is composed of two atoms, go round the sun as if they were one ; the earth carries her moon with her. So that it is possible, if not probable in the first instance, that the sun, though in repose as to the earth and her moon (and, indeed, to all the planets yet to be mentioned) may be in motion on some vast orbit of his own ; an orbit along which he carries all his planetary adherents with him, just as the earth takes her moon round the sun, *tanquam epicyclo*, as Copernicus expresses it. It is curious to perceive how, not only in the case of our own moon, but in the cases of the moons of Jupiter, Saturn and Uranus, and actually in those of all the planets considered as the moons of the sun, the Platonic epicycle really holds good. The earth turns on her heel, with the moon held out at arm's length, while she goes round the amphitheatre

before the solar eye ; so do the other moon-bearers. So does the sun himself upon a vaster arena and before a greater spectator, like another Briareus ; holding out his seventeen planets, and nobody knows how many comets, in his hundred hands. The moons, of those solar planets which have them, represent the epi-epicyclical orbits of the Ptolemaic theory. It is curious, and also touching, to notice how often the errors of man are thus the shadows of truth. Were it not for the preceding shadows, indeed, the substance would never arrive ; and therefore the Ptolemaics of the world are second, in value and in merit, only to epochal discoverers like Copernicus.

Suppose the sun to be represented by a radiant little orb two feet in diameter, in order to bring it within the measure of our eye ; then this great globe of ours, with all its stupendous histories, is no bigger than a full-sized pea in proportion, revolving at the distance of 215 feet. Neptune, the outermost and last discovered of the planets, would stand at the distance of a mile and a quarter from a sun of that imaginary size, and it would be no larger than a cherry. Another cherry at the distance of three-quarters of a mile would stand for Uranus. Saturn would be a small orange at two-fifths of a mile from our two-feet solar body. A middle-sized orange, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, would be his Jupiter. At some 500 feet the nine little planets, commonly called asteroids, probably enough the fragments of an exploded orb, and now moving in a sort of group, would be represented by as many grains of sand. A pin-head, at 327 feet, would do for Mars. Then comes the earth. Still nearer the sun, namely at 142 feet from our present model, revolves Venus, of the dimensions of a pea. And finally little Mercury wheels along his orbit, with a radius of 82 feet, and the dimensions of a mustard seed.\*

Add the terrestrial moon, the four moons of Jupiter, the ring within ring that whirls round Saturn like an endless moon, the eight ordinary moons of that extraordinary planet, the moons of Uranus and Neptune (yet uncertain in their number), and it is impossible to say how many comets, not to forget the enormous groups or hosts of comparatively small stones or meteors, which are believed to be revolving round the solar centre like pigmy asteroids ; and the Copernican conception of the mere constitution of the solar system, as developed by time and toil, is completed. The sun is 882,000 miles in diameter ; the earth is 7,926 ; Juno is 79 ; Saturn, 79,160, and so forth. The earth is

\* This diagram is an illustration of Sir John Herschel's. The nine asteroids, revolving in a group between Jupiter and Mars, are Flora, Vesta, Iris, Hebe, Astræa, Juno, Ceres, Pallas, Diana ; five of them have been discovered since 1845, by Heneke, Hind, and Graham.

more than five times as heavy as water ; Saturn is as light as cork. The earth rotates in twenty-four hours ; Jupiter in ten. The earth revolves in a year ; Mars in a year and ten months ; Mercury in about three months ; Venus in seven and a half months ; Jupiter in eleven years ; Saturn in twenty-nine ; Uranus in eighty-four ; Neptune in a hundred and sixty-four. A summer in Mercury lasts some three weeks ; in Neptune forty-one years. Light leaps from the sun to the earth in eight minutes ; to Neptune in four hours. In short, the reader has to consider thousands of discovered facts, to carry with him a whole world of indubitable inference, and to study a truly wonderful bringing of the whole machinery, or rather organization, to geometrical law, before he can apprehend how glorious a whole the Copernican astronomy has become.

There can be no manner of doubt that the present work by Professor Nichol is the very best introduction to such studies in any language. Its fulness of knowledge, its strange felicity of illustration, its very diagrams, its expansive eloquence, its enthusiastic historical feeling, its literary grace, and its piety of tone unite to render it unrivalled as a book of rudiments. We shall return to this author, and say something concerning the sidereal heavens, in a future number :—

For who is this that spurns the solar day,  
And treads with buoyant feet yon æther thin ?

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ART. IV.—*Poems.* By W. C. Bennett. London: Chapman and Hall. 1850.

If we have correctly read the characteristics of the age, there never was a time when true poetry was more desirable as an agent in human education, or more likely to be welcomed with general thankfulness and delight. In every department of life, there is a growing pressure and a sustained excitement which not only task, to the verge of exhaustion, the intellectual energies, but tend to impair the health and impede the development of the emotional faculties. Yet it is in this part of our nature that we must search for the springs of happiness ; and here, when neglected or polluted, is the birth-place of life's least curable evils. So far then as poetry addresses itself to the cultivation, and assumes the regency of the feelings, it demands our serious consideration ; it is potent for evil as for good. If, on

the one hand, its influence be hurtful, it must not be overlooked as insignificant ; and if, on the contrary, its sway over the affections be beneficial, we must reflect on its services with gratitude, and welcome its priesthood with reverence and love.

The exhausting character of human pursuits, to which we have alluded, may be illustrated by reference to the merchant, the mechanic, the votary of science ; and to each of these classes, true poetry is at least a grateful beverage, and not seldom a healing balm.

Without disparaging their strenuous diligence, or doubting that their active world is one of the best schools for maturing manly virtues, and without any splenetic sentimentalism on the grovelling ambition of the wealth-seeker, we ask how much truth there is in the complaint of Wordsworth,

The world is too much with us, late and soon  
Getting and spending we lay waste our powers.

Should not every source of refinement and every means of higher culture be carefully sought ; everything that might help to replenish the heart which the excitements of life are so perpetually draining ? Can we be unsafe, in promising the gratitude of those who, by the teaching of the poets, have been occasionally lifted above the din and perplexities of the world, into regions serene and spiritual, where their purer loves and loftier hopes may disport themselves with freedom ?

But, in order to discharge the high functions we have assigned to it, poetry must be true. True to the artistic rules, by which its force and beauty are at once displayed and wisely husbanded ; true to nature, whether in her physical or spiritual developments ; true to the recognition and use of all that experience, science, and revelation, have added to the stores of human knowledge ; and true, lastly, to the real necessities rather than the mere gallery-cry of the age.

Poetry, such as we have now described, will be embodied in works capable 'of enlarging the understanding, warming and purifying the heart, and placing in the centre of the whole being the germs of noble and manlike actions.'\*

It is when such poems appear that we feel how premature is the sneer of the dissatisfied critic, who imagines that the day of poetry is gone. She is, indeed, no longer the hand-maiden to luxurious sloth, no longer the fury of war, no longer the sycophant of courts or the slave of fashion ; so that she must needs cease from those ditties, amorous and adulatory, which were wont to awaken and nurse the lust and pride of the great ; while, for the like reason, she must discard those themes which

\* Coleridge.

long maddened and brutalized man. The voice of her harp is not silenced ; though the notes may fall softly, they need not be dull ; though we press not the flower for its harmful drug, it will continue to give its honey to the bee, and its perfume to the gentle air.

The ordinary life of earth, though deemed uneventful, abounds with difficulties ; and is varied by defeats and victories, which the poet may predict, describe, or celebrate. The deeds of charity or the feats of patriotism, are not the less heroic in that they are bloodless ; or because they clothe a life in light instead of kindling a funereal pile. And if we must have love-strains, the homely, modest love which God hath sanctioned, seeks through song, to tell its gladness and to utter its low call for solace. Simplicity of object and treatment, purity of passion and neatness of style, have happily replaced the worn gaudiness of a less natural age.

We do not introduce Mr. Bennett as one who either deserves or desires to be styled a master-poet ; but we bespeak an interest in his book on the ground of its peculiar merits ; and we notice it less to indicate its very apparent excellences than to protest against its imperfect exhibition of truth, and its lurking influences for evil. A considerable portion of its contents, to our knowledge, has met the public scrutiny elsewhere. The readers of 'Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine,' 'Howitt's Journal,' and the 'Athenæum' (if we mistake not), have been accustomed for some years, to peer through the list of contents, or glance cursorily through the pages, to ascertain if W. C. Bennett, of Blackheath, had uttered another musical response. Some of these periodical fugitives have not been honoured with a place in this volume ; the reason of their omission does not lie on the surface. A sonnet to Colonel Thompson, breathing a healthy spirit, we would gladly have seen here ; for, though inferior to the best, it is better than some, of the sonnets in the book ; while another poem of the same kind, inscribed with the suggestive name of 'Wilderspin,' is, we submit, more in accordance with the spirit and canons of the sonnet, and richer in worthy sentiments, than any which this book has reclaimed from erratic life. Many of these lyrics, as we have remarked, have been floating amongst the bulrushes of periodical magazines, and it was time that a permanent, and somewhat attractive home should be provided for them, lest they should be seen no more. But, while confessing to the general opinion, that it is not good for one, born and reared in such lowly circumstances, to be suddenly arrayed in sumptuous purple and fine linen, we feel constrained to say a passing word to those who were entrusted with the arrangement

and getting up of this volume. The print is large, and, what is technically called, clean ; but the margin is both cleaner and larger ; and sometimes, when we reached the close of a song, the graceful and pleasant swell set us a dreaming, and what was the dream ? That we were attending a meeting, and signing a petition that had some remote connexion with 'the repeal of the taxes on knowledge ;' on awaking, we reflected that the practice of leaving large marginal blanks has peculiar advantages in these economical days ; for it has a tendency to raise the *a priori* estimate of the work, inasmuch as only a rich gem deserves an ample setting ; as the result of subsequent and conclusive meditation on the subject, however, we remark that if the poetry turn out bad, human nature grudges the setting, and if the poetry prove good, English nature would have liked more of the gem and less of the setting.

With these hints as to the mechanical, we pass to the poetical character of the book. The rythm and music of many pieces will please the most delicate ear. Some of the compositions will pass muster with the most querulous censor, and, although the critic, well versed in the mysteries of his art, may complain of models neglected, rules violated, phraseology strained, and license abused, the man who reads poetry for refreshment and incitement, will steal through the pages with advantage and pleasure. It should not be approached as a task, but kept at hand for perusal, when the head, or hands, or heart, or all alike, are heavy and worn. It glitters with holiday fancies, and scarcely less with the ore of working-day truths.

The book opens with 'A Tale of To-day,' professedly descriptive of a series of pictures, which illustrate the progress and results of seduction. Peaceful, indeed, and very pleasant is the scene, and very loving are the characters first discovered amidst that scene, but a shadow falls upon

'The vine-climbed cottage, redly-tiled,  
Deep-nooked within an orchard's green—

it is the approach of the lordly perjurer, it is the shadow of earth's sorest, and also of her latest, grief ; pollution, two broken-hearts on the one hand, and on the other desertion, shame, self-abandonment, and suicide, follow in succession, with truthful rapidity. When all is over, and the gas-lit eddies of the mourning river have sunk with the ebbing tide, the old broken-hearted love seeks for its ruined one ; and laying it in the tomb, utters a lament of love, a low, sweet dirge, for a moment investing the suicide with the interest of a martyr, and the glory of sainthood. An 'unbreathed name' is all that lives of the lovely 'Miller's Daughter ;' 'yet,' saith the poet—

‘ Yet ever in our thoughts she lies  
 A memory all reproof above,  
 On whom reproach turns not its eyes,  
 But only love—  
 Love with a misty gaze of gathering tears,  
 That no accusing word of chiding memory hears.’

This may be intended to describe, without approving, the actual weakness of affectionate hearts in such a case ; if so, we remark, it is a weakness that should be hidden altogether, or should be revealed only to be reproved. Had she not sinned grievously against man and God ? And does she even seem to repent ? If, in the poet’s esteem, she was only a victim, then woman is infinitely unworthy of the graceful idolatry of his muse ; if, however, his conscience does reproach her, and even condemn her, why, we ask, does he purposely pass by the religion which God has made for the penitent ? why seek to hide the pollution of a soul, so fearfully sinful, with the expressions of a love based on undiminished esteem, just as he robes the grave in living green, and gems it with the flowers of spring. Our thoughts revert, while we write, to ‘ Poor Ellen ;’ a more touching story still, less startling and picturesque than the ‘ Tale of To-day ;’ (but pleading in our weak hearts, still more strongly, for that pitying love which cannot, or will not, think reprovingly of the fallen ; for *she* was a mother, and through sore trials did she pace the weary way to death), but Wordsworth does not aim, unwarrantably, to excite, but proceeds, in Heaven’s name and by Christ’s example, to demand from us, that love without reproach, when he says of her :—

‘ A rueful Magdalene,  
 To call her—for not only she bewailed  
 A mother’s loss, but mourned in bitterness  
 Her own transgression—penitent sincere  
 As ever raised to heaven a streaming eye !’

When we bring back our wandering thoughts to the tale before us, we can hardly bear the contrast it presents to the narrative in the ‘ Excursion.’ The miller’s daughter falls without sin ; and unprepared, according to any form of religious belief, she seeks, through self-murder, her release from unmerited sufferings, in the absolute quietude of the grave ; which is all the repose the atheist desires, and a fate which atheism alone would dare to promise.

Probably some explanation of this deficiency in our poet’s account of the life and death of the fallen one may be found in the exquisite pleasure he derives from the contemplation of innocent babyhood ; he is willing to forget that innocence is a mere accident of infancy, and, leaping over the chasm which

separates manhood from childhood, he regards the woman as still morally beautiful, in precisely the same way as the little girl ; and regards the seducer of the one, much in the light he would view a cruel nurse, or vicious dog, in reference to the other. At any rate we turn with pleasure to his performances in the nursery. To be born into this world—to be nursed, cherished, and petted—are, undoubtedly, highly poetical items in our life's history ; and, therefore, babydom is very properly made the sphere of poetical speculations and reveries. We confess that of all things small, we love babies ; and we derive more poetical inspiration from baby-watchings and baby-nursings than from any other class of *sub-adorations* ; and we further confess, that we never met with more truthful descriptions of them than we find in this volume. Memory itself is not so faithful, though it is capable of appreciating the fidelity of the artist. Our poet heartily worships infants ; and, doubtless, he has many idols in his shrine. The very thought tempts a little wagery ; but we refrain, and will venture on a little philosophy instead. We speculate accordingly, that our sceptical author (for such we must of necessity regard him), the philosopher—the enemy of all that is superstitious, nonsensical, and bigoted—would be the likeliest of Englishmen to bend the knee, finely-trousered, in the greasy dirt of Rome, if he should chance to meet *Il Bambino* in its close carriage, and under monkish guardianship, hastening to administer the interesting assistance which *Lucina* was supposed to render in the olden time. We have not the seven ages of man ; but we have several ages and stages of babyhood :—

‘ Hands all wants, and looks all wonder,  
At all things the heavens under ;

•      •      •      •  
Mischiefs done with such a winning  
Archness, that we prize such sinning ;  
Breakings dire of plates and glasses ;  
Graspings small at all that passes ;

•      •      •      •  
Silences—small meditations  
Deep as thoughts of cares for nations ;  
Breaking into wisest speeches,  
In a tongue that nothing teaches ;

•      •      •      •  
A rocker of dolls with staring eyes  
That a thought of sleep disdain,  
That with shouts of tiny lullabies  
Are by'd and by'd in vain ;

A drawer of carts with baby noise,  
 With strainings and pursed-up brow ;  
 Whose hopes are cakes and whose dreams are toys ;  
 Ay, that's my baby now.

\* \* \*

Love abundant, leaping out  
 In thy lighted look and shout,  
 In thy joy that sorrow dumbs,  
 In thy bubbling laugh that comes  
 Ever still with glad surprise  
 When thy mother meets thine eyes ;  
 Love is in thy eager watch  
 Ever strained her form to catch,  
 In thy glance, that place to place  
 Tracks the gladness of her face,  
 In thy hush of joy that charms  
 Cries to stillness in her arms ;  
 Calms of rapture, blessing—blest—  
 Rosy nestlings in her breast,  
 Dreaming eyes for ever raising  
 Raptured gazes to her gazing—  
 Gaze so blessed, sure we deem  
 Heaven is in thy happy dream.'

It is in such instances as the above, that we perceive the advantage of the poet over the painter; they have the same image before them, and each looks out in his chosen line, for the best expression of the yet hidden thought; the one finds, ready to hand, the several parts of his intended composition, and proceeds straightway to assort and combine his miniatures, according to his best taste and skill, in order to make a representation of his *thoughts as he thinks it*; but the other has, at the best, but rude materials which have of themselves no significance; and it is only by prolonged mechanical toil, by frequent trial and error, by line upon line, tint upon tint, and shade deeping shade, that he arrives at the point whence his brother started; so that the word-painter, in a few tasteful and well-considered stanzas, succeeds in conveying, with electric accuracy and speed, a serial picture, which must glide slowly from the brush of the colour-mixer, in a gallery of portraits but slightly differing from each other, and requiring for their production a lifetime of anxiety and labour at the easel.

We must not omit to notice the graceful fidelity of Mr. Bennett to his native tongue; seldom, indeed, have we read a book so pure from the words of the stranger, so proudly attesting the self-sufficiency of the English language, when needed to clothe great thoughts or to thrill cold hearts. To him, and to the poetical writers of his school, the prose writers

of this country are under great obligations, which will be most suitably discharged, by pruning their works from all unnecessary foreign words.

There are two poems in the book on the subject of popular education; the one grave and stately, the other humorous and satirical; both in their way good, and both somewhat fallacious. The grave and stately cry for national education, is founded on a survey of the more striking instances of the influence of culture—the sloe, by patient and skilful management, edified into an Orleans plum; the violet, puffed out and deperfumed, till it reach the grand, if not the sublime, in the pansy; and so forth; suggesting to the poet's mind a complaint, that man alone has been by man neglected; and awakening hopes, from a careful culture of the general mind, which, though very luscious fruit to look at, if we had no other means of reaching it than that pointed out by our author, we should decidedly pronounce sour.

‘ Then were the terror of the exiling sword  
From the lost Eden banished once again;  
Then bliss within creation's heart were cored,  
And souls for love no more were made in vain;  
Shall not these golden days to man be brought?  
Towards this goal do not the ages tend?  
Yea, take thou heart; not idly dreamest thou, thought;  
Culture shall perfect souls, too, in the end.’

The satirical poem is entitled, ‘ The Cry of the lawful Lanterns.’

‘ A people dwelt in darkness,  
In gloom and blinding night,  
Till some grew tired of candles,  
And dared to long for light,  
When straight the established lanterns  
Were stirred with hate of day,  
And loud the lawful rushlights  
In wrath were heard to say,—  
Oh, have you not your lanterns,  
Your little shining lanterns!  
What need have you of sunshine?  
What do you want with day?’

We have only to remark, that we know no lanterns of this sort at present, but are rather fearful that if a national system should be adopted the lights which will be thus multiplied will also be enlanterned; and further, that all this sentimentalism about national education is so much smoke. Show us the day-schools, whether cheap or dear, as full on the week-day as they are on the Sunday; let us see something like a desire for a higher education evinced in the earnest pursuit of the present means,

and then we may reasonably entertain liberal suggestions and patriotic schemes.

In a volume of lyrics, we look almost instinctively for the sonnets ; if there be none we feel that the poet has not pretended to the mastery of his art ; and if there be a few specimens, we search them for the indications and measure of his skill. The sonnet has been described as the test or touchstone of lyrical poetry ; we feel disposed to say it is also the crown. So highly do we esteem it—this cabinet of one gem, this poem of one idea—that we would have each noble name, and every glorious thought, embalmed in its time-defying sweetness. It is a miniature ; but it may, and should be, accurate ; it is capable of the most fascinating beauty. Unknown to the ancients, and far surpassing their best epigrams in dignity and in power, its harmonious form was revealed to the romantic and lettered Provenceaux ; soon won the love of the fervent Italian ; and, under the auspices of our noble Surrey, found a palace-like home in English literature.

————— ‘with this key  
Shakspere unlocked his heart ;’

and gave to the curiosity of wondering ages, some insight into the graver experiences and reflections of the model mind ;

‘A glow-worm lamp,  
In cheered mild Spencer—called from faery-land  
To struggle through dark ways ;  
And when a damp  
Fell round the path of Milton, in his hands  
The thing became a trumpet whence he blew  
Soul-animating strains—alas, too few !’

In the perusal of Mr. Bennett’s sonnets, we have been disappointed with the meagreness of the leading thought ; and, notwithstanding the example of Shakspere and Milton, we have to protest against the rhyming couplet with which his sonnets conclude. We can believe or pardon anything in Milton or Shakspere ; but we contend that the introduction of the rhymed couplet, at the close of a well-sustained sonnet, is out of place ; it jars on the ear, it destroys the effect, and spoils the magnificence of the poem ; it is like the squeak of Punch on coronation-day.

Wordsworth, the prince of sonneteers, has indeed been guilty in one or two instances, on the count preferred against Mr. Bennett, in the poem from which we have quoted, and one or two others ; but these exceptions are seemingly experiments ; and they are suffered to remain, we might suppose, in order to warn less practised composers from the attempt, in which even

the master had failed. We have described Mr. Bennett's book as a pleasant companion for weary hours ; as full of refreshing scenes and joyous melodies ; and as characterised by that minute truthfulness of description which silently wins our interest, even for the most ordinary objects, and renders us familiar and delighted with objects but seldom and slightly noticed before. A great portion of these pieces was evidently intended to cheer and teach those who are too closely and constantly toiling, whether for livelihood or wealth. To such, he sings in blithesome measure, reproachfully or with pity, a welcome to the haunts of vernal sweetness and May-day mirth.

‘ Come, hear the silver prattle  
Of brooks that babbling run  
Through pastures green, where cattle  
Lie happy in the sun ;  
Where violets' hidden eyes  
Are watching May's sweet coming,  
And gnats and burnished flies  
Its welcome loud are humming.’

Such are the scenes which he would picture in the mind of the toiling mass ; and we need not look far for a very different scene ; that from which he would fain spirit them for a brief while away.

‘ Close is the court and darkened,  
On which her bare room looks,  
Whose only wealth is its walls' one print,  
And its mantel's few old books,  
Her spare, cold bed in the corner,  
Her single worn, worn chair,  
And the grate that looks so rusty and dull  
As never a fire were there ;  
And there, as she stitches and stitches,  
She hears her caged thrush sing,  
Oh, would it never were May, green May,  
It never were bright, bright Spring !’

So far, then, we accept the pleasant offering from Mr. Bennett's muse with thanks ; that special gratitude, which is defined ‘ a lively sense of future favours.’

But we have intimated grave charges against him, and, though with much reluctance, we feel bound, at least, to state the nature of those charges. They may be briefly comprised under an expressive, though unauthorized term, ‘ religionless ;’ we do not choose to employ the word ‘ irreligious.’ We do not insist on the unseemly and forcible introduction of religious themes into a work like the one before us ; we are not now contending for the doctrines of the gospel, as we discern and reverence them ;

still less do we ask religiousness of form, merely as homage to general opinion ; but we must pronounce a book religionless, in which we find the whole of our common Christianity shelved, and its very existence quietly ignored. We feel indignant when a tender recollection in surviving hearts, and an earth-home, decked with the flowers of the grass, are given to us as our meed of immortality ; and, verily, this is the case here. Themes of touching interest, hopes of swelling import, desires large and clamorous, on every hand lead us to the very verge of religion, but never are we suffered to seek rest and joy, strength, or comfort, from its kindly influence.

We pronounce the book religionless, as we should call some religious book unpoetical ; and just as there may be much in the religious book that resembles poetry, so there is (not much) but a little that resembles religion, in the poetical book before us ; that little we will give :—

‘ I hear Him from the forest’s green,  
From the swift light of stars above ;  
From all the unnumbered forms of time,  
His word is loud of power and love.  
  
Yea, unto all with open ears  
By whom the circling earth is trod,  
The Eternal talketh as of old ;  
And all things are the tongues of God.’

And for a glimpse of a happy immortality—

‘ Nay, mother, mother, weep not so ;  
God judges for the best ;  
And from a world of pain and woe,  
He took her to his rest.  
  
Why should we wish her back again ?  
Oh, freed from sin and care,  
Let us the rather pray God’s love,  
Ere long to join her there.’

We refuse the name of religion to this on the ground of its imperfection, its baldness, its starved and shivering poverty. On more serious grounds do we reprobate, what our author would doubtless call the religious experience of the doubter. His description of the sceptic, struggling towards the calm and perfect day of faith, awakens our tenderest sympathy ; and if this description had stood by itself, we should have given it as it stood instead of any remarks of our own. But, appended to it, is one of those human remedies for the ailments of the soul, which sustain the same relation to the true, divine remedy, as quack medicines in the hands of quacks, to the same medicines mixed in different proportions, freed from injurious matters, and

judiciously administered by a competent practitioner. Here follows the advertised remedy:—

• Work is worship ; work for others ;  
Toil in love, and doubt shall cease :  
On, for good—for men, thy brothers !  
Self-abjurement brings thee peace.'

Work and worship are not identical, though to a great degree inter-dependent. He who works on right principles and with due diligence, will not only appreciate the privilege of worship, but also engage in it with freedom ; and again, the man who repairs the most frequently to the footstool of heaven, to seek forgiveness and blessedness, will have the wealthiest store of charity and good gifts for his brethren. We have no patience with the logic (all else apart) which teaches that a being who owes duty and service both to A and to B, may regard his zeal in the performance of the one service, as substantially a discharge from his obligations to the other. Man is bound to render love to his Maker, as well as to his neighbour ; to the one, the love of obedience and reverence and truth—spiritual sacrifices ; to the other, the love self-denying and forbearing and benevolent. How these two classes of love and duty have come to be identified or confounded ; or how men can think that either service can be properly rendered while the other is neglected ; and by what strange delusion those men are possessed who think that loving man is loving God, and that loving man is all the love which God requires for himself ; we confess ourselves unable to explain.

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ART. V.—1. *The Pye Smith Testimonial.* London : J. Snow. 1851.

2. *Services occasioned by the Death of the Rev. John Pye Smith, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S., and F.G.S. Comprising the Oration at the Interment, by the Rev. George Clayton; and the Funeral Discourse, by the Rev. John Harris, D.D.* London : Jackson and Walford. 1851.

THE publications which suggest the topic of this paper have a value of their own, which we are not disposed to overlook, even in the sacredness of the memory to which they are consecrated. Each of them may be regarded as the sign of an amount of sentiment, honourable alike to the learning, the genius, the good taste, and the healthy Christian feeling, of a large body of English

Nonconformists. It was worthy of the men—of their history, and of their principles—that so holy and so richly-endowed an elder should receive from them, while yet on earth, such a graceful tribute of their veneration. The value of the 'Testimonial' (2,600*l.*); its appropriation—the founding of 'Pye Smith Divinity Scholarships' in the New College; and the manner in which it was presented; will be a perpetual record of the discernment, gratitude, and practical good sense, that are still to be found among the children of the Puritans. A month had not quite passed away, when the beloved man of God who had been thus honoured ascended to his eternal home. As devout men followed him to his grave, it was fitting that they should be spoken to in such words of ripened wisdom as those which were pronounced by the Rev. George Clayton. And when they met to worship in the ancient meeting-house wherein Dr. Smith had ministered for well nigh half a century, nothing could be more appropriate than the ornate and fascinating grandeur with which his eminent successor in the college preached the gospel to them, and portrayed, in brief but vivid touches, the character of their translated friend. Our readers are, we hope, already in possession of this 'Memorial,' and these 'Services:' any eulogy which could express our unfeigned thanks for the instruction and joy they have afforded us, would scarcely be in keeping with their success in calling our thoughts from the much honoured living to the more honoured dead.

'Dr. John Pye Smith was born at Sheffield, in 1774, and was the son of Mr. John Smith, a bookseller. Indications of piety, of great mental activity, and of an ardent thirst for learning, early distinguished him. Parental and family influences favoured the development of these qualities. In accordance with his desire for the Christian ministry, his education was early turned into a specific direction; and, at a suitable age, he became a student at Rotherham College, under the celebrated Dr. Edward Williams. When his own academical course was finished, his scholarship was so distinguished that he was at once chosen to assist in conducting the classical studies of the college. Soon after, he was invited by Coward's trustees to the classical tutorship of Wymondley College. And now appeared one of the qualities which characterised him through life—a readiness to sacrifice every temporal consideration to a sense of duty. He considered, whether he was right or wrong, that the mode of admission at that time to the advantages of the institution was not favourable to its ministerial efficiency; and, failing to obtain the change he desired, he unhesitatingly abandoned the tempting prospect. His exemplary discharge of his official duties at Rotherham College, and the marked excellence of his character, led to his being invited, at the early age of twenty-five, to become classical and resident tutor of Homerton College. In January, 1801, he entered on the duties of the office. Shortly after,

he was chosen to the theological chair, which he filled with untiring devotedness and the highest efficiency for the long space of nearly fifty years. In 1803, he opened the college-hall for religious services on the Lord's-day. A little band of worshippers soon united in Christian fellowship, and invited him to become their pastor. He was ordained in 1804; and in 1811, the attendance was so much increased, that larger accommodation became necessary. The use of *this* chapel—which had been recently relinquished by the parties assembling in it for a new one—was obtained. And thus a place in which Dr. Price, Dr. Priestley, Mr. Belsham, and Mr. Aspland, had successfully ministered, began to resound again with the doctrines of the proper divinity, and the atoning sacrifice, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. At the close of the year 1849, Dr. Smith returned into the hand of his church the office of the pastoral oversight which, at their request, he had assumed nearly forty-six years before. . . . Many of you will remember his wasted but almost ethereal appearance on Wednesday, January 8th, the day on which he received the "Testimonial" of our veneration and affection. He had come to London the week before. During that visit, he was expressing to some members of his family the extreme difficulty which he felt in replying to his numerous correspondents. And to show that he could scarcely guide the pen without the help of his left hand, he traced some marks on a paper lying near. On subsequent examination, these marks proved to be portions of 1 John iii. 2—"To be like him, to see him as he is."

'On Sunday, the 5th, he had joined here in the communion of the Lord's Supper with the attached people of his former charge. After the service, on returning to the vestry, he addressed the Rev. Mr. Davies and the deacons, and said, "My dear brethren, this is the last public service I shall enjoy on earth. Though I have not been able to attend the public celebration of the Lord's Supper since I met you in this place, I have observed it in my own house every Lord's-day." Turning to the senior deacon, and taking his hand affectionately, he said, "I bless God for your long and valued friendship; and (to the next in order) for yours, my dear friend." Then addressing Mr. Davies, he said, "I congratulate you, my dear sir, on your encouragements, and on the great success given to your ministry. I doubt not that you will still prosper, and that here the cause of the Redeemer will still flourish."

'During that short visit, he spoke to some affectionate relatives on the design he had at one time formed of renewing his acquaintance with the Greek poets. But adverting to his perusal of the Persæ of Æschylus, and the picture of the woes produced by the invasion of Xerxes, he added,—"How soon was I fatigued with the comparatively feeble and puerile narrative, and eagerly turned to the Hebrew Scriptures; comparing with the Greek poet the majestic descriptions of Jeremiah in his Lamentations. So unspeakably pathetic, powerful, and satisfying is the inspired word."

'He deeply felt the kindness of his friends relative to the presentation of the testimonial, and the prospect of it almost overpowered him. After the scene was over, however, though his deafness had prevented

him from hearing anything, he made no inquiry respecting what had been said, nor any specific reference to the meeting, except to express the pleasure of having recognised the countenances of so many old friends. Before going to rest, he pointed out the first chapter of the second epistle to Timothy for reading ; and, in the course of the prayer which he then offered, he thanked God, with marked emphasis, for "the signal mercies—the unmerited favours of that day ;" entreated "preparation for another and a more momentous day ;" and after praying for his beloved children by name, added—"Though we part now, it is not for ever, nor can we ever part from Thee." On that day month he departed. No special disease invaded his frame. But, on returning to Guildford, the powers of life rapidly declined. "Thanks for your encouragement (he said, when a hope was expressed that he might yet revive) ; if so, well ; if God order otherwise, I shall bless him in either, in every case." During the last six days, the only method of communication left to his sorrowing family was by writing, and offering to his eyes a few words of Scripture, for which he expressed hearty thanks.

'Looking intensely with his mild eyes in the faces of all who surrounded his dying bed, he made a last effort to bless them. "The Lord bless you all (said he) ; and he undoubtedly will." To a medical friend he articulated, with great difficulty, "Farewell, I am greatly obliged ; the eternal God be thy refuge!" And, turning to his son—"The Lord be your portion for ever!" And thus (though he still lingered a short time), like his Divine Master, he may be said to have ascended in the act of blessing. . . . He was a man of the age ; and faithfully did he serve it. In many respects he was in advance of the age ; and served it by pioneering its way, and beckoning it onwards. At various points, he touched every great question of the century, so that his history, fully written, would be the history of the age. His life was spent pre-eminently in unfolding his ideal of truth and duty, and in carrying out their universal application, with the true earnestness of Christian devotion. And, by God's grace, he "kept the faith," and discharged his mission.'

We will not further quote, just now, from Dr. Harris's admirable 'Funeral Discourse,' but proceed to convey our own impressions of Dr. Smith, not only from personal acquaintance, and the study of his printed works, but also from private communications with which we have been favoured from those who knew him well, and greatly loved him.

From an early age to the end of life, he discovered a remarkable thirst for universal and accurate knowledge, and rare powers of acquisition. How far this thirst may have been excited by the profession of his father, it would be difficult to say. We are not believers in the creating power of outward circumstances. Yet all experience testifies that they have much to do with the particular direction which is taken by an energetic mind. It is certain that Pye Smith was, in an eminent degree, a *man of books*.

They seem to have been, at all times, a necessary of life to him. The quantity of volumes he had read, the eagerness with which he became absorbed in them, the variety of range which he took, and the accuracy with which he observed the literary, grammatical, and even typographical niceties of scholarship, are familiar matters. While engaged in his father's business, he had learnt the New Testament by heart, at the age of sixteen. He was so thoroughly versed in the Greek language, that he could repeat at any time a collection of short phrases, with Latin translations, containing the roots of the principal verbs. While a student at Rotherham, he was so scrupulously resolved to repair to the original sources of things, that even in studying Euclid he used the most correct edition he could procure of the Greek text of the ancient Geometer. The Rev. S. Thodey, of Stroud, formerly of Cambridge, has furnished us with a lively illustration of the minuteness of his learning, and the retentiveness of his memory, in this department. One morning, at lecture, a curious Greek verb occurred in reading. The Doctor remarked that this verb was used only *once* in Homer. A member of the class had just come from a Greek lecture on that poet, when, as he imagined, he had been translating the verb in question, and ventured to say that he thought this was another instance of Homer's use of it. 'Indeed, sir,' said the Doctor, slightly raising his brow, 'please to fetch the book.' He glanced at the book, and pushed it back into his young friend's hand, when he observed that it was another word, and said, to use our correspondent's language, with the indignant air of an injured ghost, dropping his voice, '*I should have been surprised if it had been possible to find a word in Homer I was not familiar with!*' This, probably, was the only instance in which any of his students knew him to refer to his own profound attainments with the smallest approach to self-complacency; and this escaped him only from a kind of disappointment in not adding to his knowledge of the use of a Greek verb.

Of his theological reading, not only in the ancient languages, and in the writings of the foreign reformers, as well as the great English divines of the Established Church, and among the Puritans, but in the philological, exegetic, and dogmatic treasures of the continental universities, he has left ample evidence, in the annotations and references of his great work—'The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah.' His appreciation of the value of such studies, and, indeed, of universal erudition, to a Christian minister, appears from an oration which he delivered at the anniversary of Rotherham College, in the year 1798—an oration which is very interesting, as the *first* of a series which has been continued at that college down to the present time, as the pro-

duction of a young man in his twenty-fourth year, as delivered in Latin of remarkable purity and elegance, and, also, as containing the outline of the course of varied reading, to which his long life was afterwards so assiduously devoted. In that oration, now before us in his own neat and careful hand-writing, he declares that the learning for which he pleads can never be a substitute for Christian piety, and that it is not regarded by him as necessary to the faithful and useful discharge of the office of the holy ministry; while, with much intelligence and vigour, he urges its great importance as *auxiliary* to higher qualifications. He embraces the entire field of scholarship, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages; the fathers of the Church; the Greek and Roman classic authors; the English language; (other modern languages are omitted); history; natural philosophy; astronomy; natural history; chemistry; dialectics; mathematics. In touching on chemistry, he introduces a tribute of veneration and sorrow to the memory of Lavoisier, who had recently fallen a victim, in the prime of life, to the ferocious tyranny of Robespierre. He, also, commemorates the discoveries of Priestley, of whom he speaks as a minister among the Dissenters, '*vir clarissimus—sed quoad res divinas utinam felicior*—Josephus Priestley, LL.D.'

The academic lectures of Dr. Smith, it is said by those who have heard them, abound with the richest illustrations of his vast acquirements in nearly every branch of knowledge; while his Congregational Lectures on Scripture and Geology, and the numerous notes illustrative of his investigations in all the collateral sciences, together with his occasional communications to scientific journals, sufficiently evince the vivacity and promptitude with which he explored nearly every region of the world of letters.

We must be allowed to remark, in this place, that, so far as we know, Dr. Smith was the first theologian in our country who gave attention to the bearing of geological discoveries on the interpretation of the Bible, and that he boldly anticipated nearly all that has been truly and wisely advanced on that subject, *in the pages of this Review*. So long back as the year 1812, he wrote a review of Dr. Hales's 'New Analysis of Chronology,' containing a passage, which, as it contains the germ of his 'Congregational Lecture,' and is, besides, the most comprehensive statement we have met with, of what we hold to be the truth on one part of a very large question—the relations of science to the Holy Scriptures—our readers will be glad to have placed before them.

' In the first volume, p. 321, compelled by astronomical reasons and analogical argument, though not explicitly stated, Dr. Hales had said,  
 " Whether the host of fixed stars were all created and made at the same

time with our system, may reasonably be doubted." We lament that he has not attended to this important subject in its proper place of the present volume, and that, not only in relation to the suns and worlds which we have reason to believe exist out of the limits of our solar system, but with respect to that system itself, and the constitution and structure of the earth. Many modern geologists are daily confirming themselves and others in infidelity, from the unfounded assumption that the Mosaic cosmogony is contradicted by indubitable facts and discoveries in mineralogical science. We are sorry to say, that when this objection was adverted to in the admirable lectures read by an illustrious Professor at the Royal Institution, last year, the answer which was produced was of that flimsy kind which could satisfy no man, and must have left the objection to operate with more mischievous force. The false assumption rests on the idea that, according to the Scriptures, the antiquity of the created universe does not much exceed six or seven thousand years. *From long and attentive consideration, we are convinced that neither the Book of Genesis, nor any other part of the Bible, authorizes any such conclusion.* Certainly the Bible teaches that the formation of man, and of the present species of organized beings which people our planet, took place at the late date referred to; and this fact is verified by the traditional testimony of all nations, by the recent origin of the arts and improvements of life, and by all the literary monuments of mankind. But this by no means justifies the inference, that the earth as a terrene body had not previously existed for a period of duration not to be assigned. The magnificent exordium of the Hebrew prophet, and inspired teacher, is a simple declaration of the fact, that the *whole* dependent universe did, at some period or other in the retrospect of countless ages, *derive* its existence, form, and properties, from the Infinite and All-Perfect Intelligence which we denominate God. Moses, then, takes up the planet which was to be the theatre of those great measures of Jehovah's moral government, the history of which it was his immediate object to record; and the very terms in which he describes it carry to our conviction the intimation of a pre-existent state, and a dissolution from that state into a dark, chaotic, decompounded mass. We venture to give a translation of the verse, submitting it to the candid judgment of those who study the Hebrew language by the aid of its cognate dialects:—"Now the earth was in a state of disorder and disarrangement, and darkness upon the surface of the disordered mass; and the Spirit of God moved with fostering influence upon the surface of the waters." We would ask the scientific geologist, whether he does not manifestly perceive, under these expressions, the condition of a disorganized globe, its surface to some depth in a state of watery solution and mixture, and its atmosphere turbid and unpermeable to light? The divine historian proceeds to relate a series of phenomena, in which we may, without irreverence, conceive that Almighty Wisdom acted by the operation of those physical laws which *ITSELF* had established—the attraction of gravitation, and that of chemical affinity. The atmosphere was cleared, and filled with light on that hemisphere which was presented to the sun; but it was not yet sufficiently purified to permit the heavenly bodies to be seen, had a spectator existed on the earth; the diurnal motion of the

globe was established ; the atmosphere was further cleared by the separation of watery vapour, and clouds were formed ; the continents and mountains were heaved up, and, consequently, the waters subsided into the hollows ; the agency of Creating Goodness covered the desiccated ground with vegetables ; the atmosphere now became sufficiently pellucid to render the heavenly luminaries visible ; fish and birds were created ; then quadrupeds and reptiles ; and, finally, man. We conceive, also, that the remarkable passage, 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, is couched in terms which cannot be applied to the Noachic deluge, but which are fairly descriptive of the disintegration of our world from a former state, by solution of its external surface in water, reducing it to the very condition in which it becomes the subject of the Mosaic narrative.

‘ Our readers will not think that this digression requires an apology, when they consider the extensive popularity which geological studies have recently acquired ; the impossibility that any person, who is really acquainted with mineralogical phenomena, can attribute an origin so recent as the creation of the present races of organized beings to the materials of the earth’s structure, their deposition and arrangement ; the importance of showing that the Holy Scriptures are in no respect impugned by the attribution of the remotest antiquity to the earth, under former constitutions of its existence ; and that irreligion can derive no aid from the discoveries of geology and electro-chemistry. We return to Dr. Hales, again lamenting his total inattention to this great question.’

Dr. Smith was a member of several learned and scientific societies, and a constant attendant at their meetings, even after his almost total deafness rendered him incapable of reaping the full benefit of the communications and discussions which took place. We may mention particularly the Royal Society, the Geological Society, and the British Association for the advancement of Science, in whose geological sections his benignant and happy countenance was familiar, and where there were always those at hand who felt it an honour to assist him with notes which almost supplied to his quick perception the loss occasioned by his want of hearing.

The conscientious regulation of his literary and scientific powers was one of the most characteristic and constant manifestations of his character. While he loved knowledge for its own sake, as gratifying a noble instinct of his nature, his mind was too practical, too religious, to be insensible to the duties binding on him as a man, and especially as a teacher of aspirants to the ministerial office : it was most conspicuous, that he inquired for others even more than for himself, that his personal delights were heightened by sympathies with those whom he sought to raise to his own level, and that every book he read, and every scientific réunion at which he assisted, was most devoutly considered and employed with an habitual regard to his official

occupations. He saw the latent harmonies of truths which the superficial behold only in isolation or antagonism. To him the spiritual, the ethical, and the physical, were but varying phases of one reality; nature, science, philosophy, and revelation, were the several rays of the eternal light; and he perceived their relations, their appropriate developments, and their fundamental unity, in the Infinite Mind, of which they are the mysterious emanations. It does not appear that abstract truth, whether in the higher mathematics, or in purely metaphysical speculation, had greatly occupied him; nor are we acquainted with any evidence that he worked out the analogies of the universe with the power which imparts brilliancy to the imagination, and clothes the intuitions of the soul in the burning words of the poet or the orator: it is probable that his aptitudes for such forms of intellectual life were not large or predominant: it is certain that they were not strengthened and enlarged by exercise; but however this might be, he had a heart that was touched with the grand or beautiful in nature, or in art, and had he been an ostentatious man, or less rigidly guided in all his movements by the stern yet cheerful sense of duty, we dare not say that, with his sensibility, his amazing quickness of apprehension, his entire command of language, his intense hatred of all evil, and equally intense love of all good, he might not have been as distinguished for the splendour, as he really is for the transparency, of his productions.

We must not omit to notice Dr. Smith's pre-eminent facility in communicating the knowledge which he was so constantly accumulating. Though we believe not what is commonly understood by being a popular preacher,—wanting, as he did, of some of the rhetorical and elocutionary elements demanded for that purpose,—those who listened to him as a Christian teacher, intent on learning holy wisdom, preferred him to most others, even in the pulpit. If there were not striking originalities—dazzling images, massive and overwhelming reasonings, pathetic and arousing appeals to the common emotions, and the moral apprehensions of human nature—there was always a serene and heavenly light, a reverential seriousness, a gentle persuasion, a modest dignity, an intellectual vivacity, an unaffected simplicity of manner, and a chaste, perspicuous style. These qualities of an instructor were eminently beheld in his academic lectures. That was his natural orbit, where with steady equipoise he performed the tranquil revolutions, girdled, like Saturn, with a ring, and followed, as he moved along, by attendant orbs that caught and reflected the radiations of his light. It must not be inferred from this description that there were no *librations*, no disturbing forces, no play of mind amid the grave prelections of the theological

professor. He would often pause, as a happy thought occurred to him, and, by apt quotation, or felicitous allusion, or some pleasant anecdote, would illustrate the theme in hand, or relieve the listener—sometimes, perchance, the lecturer—by digressions which have all the greater charm that they could be produced only by a mind well ordered, and ever filling its expanding receptivity from all fountains of intelligence. According to the testimony of all the ministers from Homerton, with whom it has been our happiness to converse, the great objects of his constant anxiety were those so well expressed in the address which accompanied the ‘Testimonial:’—

‘As a tutor, those only can estimate your worth who enjoyed the privilege of your instruction. Possessed yourself of matchless stores of learning—literary, scientific, and theological,—all based upon accurate classical scholarship,—you incessantly laboured to inculcate on your pupils the importance of exact information, of large and liberal views, and of profound and diligent research. Your own example was a constant stimulus, and an ever-present encouragement. Whilst you thus endeavoured to lead them forward in the attainment of true knowledge, you discountenanced all levity of mind, and love of idle speculation; and, by your spirit, admonitions, and prayers, sought to impress them with the feeling that learning must ever be subordinate to piety,—and that love to man, self-denial, devotion, and heavenly-mindedness are the first qualifications in a Christian minister. By your unvarying kindness you secured their affection, as certainly as by your profound erudition you commanded their respect. Your mild reproof of their foibles, your generous encouragement of their efforts, and your true sympathy with them in their afflictions, made them look on you as a father; nor will they, to their last hour, cease to rejoice that they were allowed to call you tutor and friend.’

The largest and most permanent contributions to the instruction of mankind which Dr. Smith has given, are to be found in his published writings, and in those manuscripts which, we presume, will, ere long, be added to their number. It is not our purpose to review, even in a cursory manner, the printed works of Dr. Smith, nor even to recapitulate their titles: we purpose, rather, to seize the leading features of mind they severally exhibit, and, from an examination of the writings, to portray the man. Some of his minor publications which have long since been out of print, being on topics of a personal kind, are not likely to be recovered from the oblivion into which he himself permitted them to lie, but to those who, like ourselves, remember to have read them, they long ago gave proof of that conscious high-mindedness, that power of exposing misconception, that energy of meek rebuke, which were so beautifully matured by the discipline of reason and the mellowing

experiences of religion. It may be well for men of independent and enlarged minds to dwell on this portion of Dr. Smith's life. They may learn from it to be true to their own convictions, undismayed by the prejudices of less instructed minds, and calmly and meekly waiting for time, the great innovator, to bring about the triumph of *the* truth for the advocacy of which they must be content to suffer misconception and obloquy. It is also emphatically well for the impatient and stereotyped disciples of traditional interpretations of revealed wisdom, to be reminded that there is some peril in resisting the progress of mind in any department of its operations. Prejudice is often very respectable, and attachment to the opinions of wise and good men is an amiable adjunct of reverence for Divine teaching; but convictions, based on evidence, are higher and mightier than any prejudices, and the mind of man is made for progress, and must advance in the path of real knowledge. Let Christian men have more faith in God than in man, in the Bible than in human explanations borrowed from imperfect knowledge; and let them know that there is a higher tribunal than the churches of any age or nation—the judgment of an independent public and of a better-informed posterity. Though we pass these compositions by with so very slight a reference, we cannot forget how deeply they impressed us, years ago, with admiration and affection for the writer. And, without awakening, in any quarter, recollections which are now too ancient to be accompanied with bitterness, we are unwilling that the present generation should be ignorant that few men have passed through severer tests of patience, of forbearance, of manly faith in his own personal integrity, and of filial confidence in the God of truth and righteousness, than the illustrious Christian, scholar, and divine, who has been so lately gathered, as a golden 'shock of corn,' into the garner of the Lord. It is neither by fate, nor chance, nor miracle, that *such* men are formed.

There are two practical discourses, separately published, we forget how long ago, by Dr. Smith, which we should be sorry to find unknown, for they are seasonable at all times, and the authority of his venerable name would attract towards them the attention of not a few minds, much needing sympathy and guidance — we refer to his judicious little publication entitled, 'Prudence and Piety recommended to Young Persons at their Entrance upon the Active Duties of Life,' and to a 'Sermon on the Means of obtaining Satisfaction with regard to the Truth of Religious Opinions.' This last, we fear, is not so well known as it deserves to be, for the gentle and judicious treatment of instances in mental history too much neglected or misunderstood by all, excepting such as have

had to struggle hard and long for enlightened certitude, in those sacred regions which are divided, to an extent painful to contemplate, between the doubting and the dogmatic.

Many will remember the audacious attacks on Christianity by 'the Rev. Robert Taylor,' in 1826. A printed paper, issued by that person, entitled, 'Manifesto of the Christian Evidence Society,' induced the 'Society for Promoting Christian Instruction' to apply to Dr. Smith to draw up an 'Answer,' which was extensively circulated, and passed through several editions. The deep erudition, the calm reasoning, the indignant rebukes, and the strong appeals to the good sense and the moral feelings of Englishmen, by which this answer is characterised, claim for it a high rank among the very best publications in our language.

In 1834 Dr. Smith published a Sermon on the 'Necessity of Religion to the Well-Being of a Nation,' with an Appendix on the 'Subjects at present agitated between Churchmen and Dissenters.' This Appendix led to a prolonged controversy between Dr. Smith and his eminently learned friend, Dr. Lee, of Cambridge. To that controversy—during which it is but natural for us to say that the Homerton Professor had a very decided advantage—we have had occasion to refer, in conversation with Dr. Lee, at Trinity College; and we can heartily concur in the testimony given by Mr. Thodey, in his speech at the public breakfast at which the 'Memorial' was presented to Dr. Smith:—

'I know that the regard of Professor Lee for Dr. Smith was wholly uninterrupted by the controversy in which they had been engaged. He has frequently said to me, "There is no man for whom I have a higher estimation than for Dr. Pye Smith. Our controversy was all upon paper, and before the world; but our mutual friendship is undisturbed. We were combatants in public, but the best of friends in private. I have always regarded him as one of the best of men."

We understand that Dr. Lee has acknowledged, in very cordial terms, what he calls the 'acceptable service' rendered to himself by the manner in which his esteem for Dr. Smith had been represented.

Of Dr. Pye Smith's larger treatises, we gratefully cite the comprehensive panegyric of Dr. Harris, in a passage which describes the practical applications of his great intellectual activity:—

'It has been said that "to write is to act." Each of his books was an act; and an act designed to meet a want. Whether he architecturally built up the "Scripture Testimony to the Messiah," like the ancient Tabernacle of Witness, or rebuked the flippant attacks of Infidelity; whether he asserted the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ, exhibited the rules for the Interpretation of Prophecy, expounded the

Principles of the Reformation, or enforced the claims of Evangelical Nonconformity, his aim was usefulness of the highest order. His great work, the "Scripture Testimony," is universally acknowledged to be one of the greatest modern achievements of sanctified learning. I have long thought of him in this connexion, as the Lardner of Doctrinal Theology. The correspondence, indeed, is traceable in the inductive method which each has pursued, and in the extremely cautious and candid spirit in which their respective inquiries are conducted. The preponderance of learning and reasoning is decidedly in favour of Dr. Smith.'

In 1829, Dr. Smith published a discourse on the 'Principles of Interpretation as applied to the Prophecies of Holy Scripture.' There are many respects in which we have been accustomed to regard this discourse as the most valuable we have ever seen on the wide and difficult department of Biblical Theology which it embraces: it is so clear, so full, so admirably arranged, so richly pervaded by views at once broadly comprehensive and critically exact, and breathes at once so holy a frame of mind, such caution, such nice discrimination—such easy and well-wielded power in the destruction of theories based on misinterpretation, or on unwarranted conjectures, or on fanciful analogies—and such enlightened and practical reverence for the teaching of the Holy Spirit.

We have before adverted to the early and deep interest taken by Dr. Smith in the discoveries of geologists and their bearing on the interpretation of the Scriptures. We are told that his profound and far-reaching views of these discoveries, and these bearings, were given in his lecture-room at Homerton College, between thirty and forty years ago. When these antecedents are considered, it will be no matter of surprise that the Committee of the Congregational Library should have invited so competent a lecturer to discuss this momentous theme in the Congregational Lecture for 1839. In that interesting volume, what struck us most, when we first read it, was the familiarity of the lecturer with the entire field of geological science; the simplicity, ease, and naturalness of his reference to facts, principles, theories, systems, and interpretations, with which even a moderate degree of acquaintance is the purchase of many years' devotion to such studies. We remember saying, at the time, to a well-educated and studious minister, now deceased, that these lectures formed an easy introduction to the fascinating study of geology; when he replied that, in his opinion, they required a considerable previous knowledge of that science to be able to comprehend them. Yet it is not as a professed teacher of geology that Dr. Smith brings forward his rich array of large and well-digested information, but as an expounder of the Scrip-

tures. He does not make geology either supersede or contradict the Scriptures; neither does he make the Scriptures teach geology. The science he expounds by the legitimate methods of observation and comparison. The Scriptures he expounds according to the laws of grammatical and philological exegesis. Each department of truth is treated in its appropriate manner, independently of the other. And these separate and independent sources of truth are shown to harmonize. Other modes of exhibiting the harmony of geology with Scripture had been attempted. These are freely examined in the lectures: their errors pointed out, and their defects supplied. There are still not a few theologians to whom these lectures are distasteful; but we believe that, on the whole, they are highly satisfactory to the greater part of those who have studied geology in the free spirit of science, and the Bible in the equally free spirit of humble and teachable inquiry. For ourselves, we regard them as a precious contribution towards an end which will be more and more appreciated, both in its difficulties and in its solutions—the true relation of all science to all theology, and the unity of method which embraces both as distinct, yet accordant, developments of the thought of the Infinite Revealer. The conviction is in our minds a very strong one, and gaining strength with every day's study and experience, that a theology as unfettered by human traditions as our present imperfect condition can attain, reflecting, as from a fair mirror, the whole revealed mind of God, will be the natural result of the progressive emancipations of the human mind from the accumulated errors of ages, whether in the interpretations of nature or in the interpretations of Scripture. We expect no physical science beyond the revelations of nature; neither do we look for any theological science beyond the revelations of Scripture. Both nature and written revelation have been *progressive* in their actual constitution; and as it agrees with these unquestionable facts, that human science respecting material nature is in a state of actual advancement to which it is not in our power to assign the limits, and that a similar advancement may be predicated of human science respecting man's intellectual, moral, and social constitution, it were more presumptuous to deny than to affirm that *human science respecting the spiritual truths imparted by the inspired messengers of heaven* is, in like manner, included within the range of the divine law of progression in the intellectual history of man. We are prepared, as we doubt not Dr. Smith was, to apply to every real discovery the human mind can make in psychical, ethical, or social investigations, not less than in the regions of abstract demonstration and of physical forces, the calm and confiding language in which the

learned lecturer expounds the final result of his comparison of geology with Scripture.

‘It follows, then, as a *universal* truth, that the Bible, faithfully interpreted, erects no bar against the most free and extensive investigation, the most comprehensive and searching induction. Let but the investigation be sufficient, and the induction honest. Let observation take its farthest flight; let experiment penetrate into *all* the recesses of nature; let the veil of ages be lifted up from all that has been hitherto unknown, if such a course were possible; religion need not fear, Christianity is secure, and true science will always pay homage to the Divine Creator and Sovereign, “of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things; and unto whom be glory for ever.”’

While Dr. Smith was well known to be among the meekest and humblest of Christ’s disciples, it deserves to be considered that these lovely qualities were guarded, so to speak, by the sterner virtues of unflinching integrity, the conscious dignity of a true man and a servant of God, the prompt antagonism of a well-ordered and fully equipped championship of truth, righteousness, and freedom against all error, wickedness, and oppression. He was as strenuous an opponent of unequal, unwise, or unmerciful legislation, as if his whole life had been spent in clubs or parliaments. He was more orthodox than any of the scribes who assailed him for his sympathy with the heterodox in all questions of science or of civil freedom. He was a more thorough-going Dissenter than many who would not wish, or could not succeed, to live in terms of amity with ornaments and vindicators of the Established Church. In all matters of ecclesiastical or of general polities, he took what are sometimes spoken of, depreciatingly, as extreme views—a fact which may be accounted for partly by his early associations, and partly by his keen perception of principles, but still more by the transcendently religious and benevolent principle which ruled him, more than most men, in every action of his life. It was his abhorrence of sin, under all its guises, his deep feeling of brotherhood towards the whole human family, and, above all, his zeal for God, that made him the warm advocate for the reform of every abuse, and for the promotion of every scheme that contemplated the elevation and advancement of mankind; and in the advocacy of these reforms and meliorations he was as practically and self-denyingly earnest as though his formal and official occupations had not been those of the retired and laborious student.

We once spent a most pleasant day in his society, which afforded a singularly felicitous illustration of characteristics we have seldom seen combined. He had been travelling many miles the day before, and he told the company that he had

been reading, on the journey, a most spirited paper in the 'Eclectic Review,' exposing some abominations of the Church of England, and he spoke for a long time in the most serious and earnest strain of entire condemnation of that ecclesiastical system. Some of the party were members of the Church which he had been so unsparingly cutting up. A gentleman present, who knew this fact, and perceived that Dr. Smith did not, went to the side of the table on which the Doctor was sitting, and said to him, through his ear-trumpet, 'You are quite aware, Doctor, that some of us might very conscientiously hold different views on this subject from those which you have been now expressing, though it would be inconvenient, at present, to discuss them.' He quickly replied, 'Certainly, sir; but the right must be on one side, and that side is taken by those who have thoroughly and fairly examined the whole question;' and then he proceeded, as before, to deliver himself in a style which would have delighted an assembly of sturdy Anti-state Churchmen. When the party had broken up, the worthy Doctor was told that some of the ladies who had listened to him were members of the Church of England. Next morning, he made a point of calling on these ladies separately, and apologized in the most elaborate and courteous manner for the unintentional rudeness into which his ignorance had betrayed him, alleging, at the same time, that although his infirmity of deafness prevented his hearing conversation, and the politeness of his friends endured his prolonged speaking, so as to prevent his perceiving the unseasonableness of the topic, he must be permitted, in all humility, to say that he was fully convinced of the truth, and the importance of what he had uttered. It may be supposed that the ladies were greatly charmed with the simplicity, earnestness, and gentlemanly bearing of the learned divine; though, we believe, they continued to attend and to love their Church.

We cannot forbear alluding to the high-minded candour and fairness of Dr. Smith as a controversial writer. Some of his expressions might, indeed, be quoted, as having an appearance of conscious superiority in learning to his opponent; but it will scarcely be questioned by those who have studied his writings that he displayed the attributes we have assigned to him in a pre-eminent degree. It was in the regions of science and scholarship, not in his peculiar province of theology, that apparent, we believe *only* apparent, exceptions might be found. We refer, now, to that great work which he has himself described as 'the work on which I rest my chief hope of usefulness;' and

'It would be affectation to say, that I deem this book a small and feeble contribution to the cause of religious knowledge. Had I thought

it such, I should have been highly culpable for troubling the public with it. In the subject which it treats, I was led by personal circumstances and connexions to take much interest, from an early period of life. Its composition and improvement, notwithstanding many interruptions, have been a *principal occupation* during many of my best years. It was begun with an apprehensiveness against irrational prepossessions, over-statement of premises, and excess in conclusions; amounting to a jealousy, and by some censured as a blameable timidity. Of this caution, however, even if it has been redundant, I do not repent. In proportion to the solicitude and tardiness of the process, has been the satisfactory character of the result. I should be faithless to the most serious convictions, were I not to profess my belief that these volumes contain a body of proof, not invented by an erring mortal, but elicited from the records of Divine Revelation, in favour of the ancient and common faith of Christians; *a body of proof which can never be overthrown, and which time, so far from impairing, will but the more confirm and extend.*'

It is to this great life-labour of a great divine—his appropriate and imperishable monument—that we refer in illustration of our remark, to its *grand idea*—to its arrangement—to its skilful artistic execution—to its carefully-sifted reasonings—to its almost numberless proofs of assiduous and independent and multifarious readings in ancient and modern languages—to its serene and almost majestic sanctity of tone—to its entire structure, which reminds us of Newton in his 'Principia,' and to which we are at a loss to find any other parallel. In a special manner we call attention to the third chapter of the First Book on the 'Errors and Faults with respect to the present Controversy, which are especially chargeable on the Orthodox, but in part also on their Opponents.'

We conclude this genial, though most incomplete, labour of love by avowing our conviction that the name of JOHN PYE SMITH, instead of fading away with the generation which he has adorned by his genius, instructed by his learning, and edified by his beautiful and holy life, will acquire fresh lustre from the flight of years, and will be reverently pronounced in all the languages of men, as one of the most worthy in the highest rank of mortals—the ornaments of England, the lights of literature, the saints of Christendom, and the benefactors of that race of which 'THE MESSIAH' is 'THE PRIEST' and 'LORD.'

ART. VI.—*The Stones of Venice. Vol. I.—The Foundations.* By John Ruskin, Author of 'The Seven Lamps of Architecture,' 'Modern Painters,' &c. With Illustrations drawn by the Author. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

MR. RUSKIN has fought his way, by his former works, against the most rooted prejudices of artists and architects, and through the most unflinching antagonism on his part, to a deservedly high reputation with the public. He has shown himself an earnest and honest thinker on all that concerns art, and for such men there will always be an audience, however much many of the auditors themselves may be startled by the enunciations made, and however impossible it may be for them to accord with the enunciator in all his views. There are points on which we are by no means prepared to agree with Mr. Ruskin, such as his wholesale admiration of the later paintings of J. M. W. Turner; his notion that such things as shops and railway stations, buildings for mere usefulness, should have no kind of ornament, and similar matters to which we shall point in the present volume. In the case of Turner's paintings we think that Mr. Ruskin, in his violent and undiscriminating admiration, departs from his usual good taste in a very extraordinary degree; and in the case of shops and railway stations, we think he errs in advocating no ornament instead of a *befitting* ornament. We can see no reason why our eyes should be offended with ugly dead walls wherever we turn, merely because shops and railway stations are things of every-day use. What wretched dreary objects would be the streets of our great towns on this principle—what huge revolting masses our railway stations! In these particulars Mr. Ruskin certainly departs from his own grand and correct rule, that we should make nature our guide in our architecture, for nature leaves no place without its appropriate embellishment. She clothes the poorest heath, and the most barren mountain, with vegetation, with flowers, and with colours, which are exquisite there, though they would be often out of place anywhere else.

But allowing these peculiarities to Mr. Ruskin, as we must allow for such exceptional points in all strong and original natures, we find him as a whole profoundly correct in his views of art. He has seized on the great principle that all art is 'the expression of man's delight in God's work.' That is his clue through the universe. Holding fast by that he can never get far wrong. There may be times when his attention is not so livingly excited, or when his imagination is too strong for his judgment, in which he admires or condemns in direct opposition

to his own admitted axioms, and drags his clue to one side, instead of following it docilely; but in the main his pursuit of truth is as admirable for its clear-sightedness, as it is for its honesty. He follows nature with the ardour of a worshipper, and the stern obstinacy of a martyr. There is a profound sense of religion in his soul, one rare quality now-a-days in both art and science. He possesses a sublime idea of the great building and beautifying Spirit of all worlds, and this gives not only to his conceptions of artistic beauty a grandeur pre-eminent, but to his sentiments a fervid depth and an eloquence of expression, that pervade his work with an indescribable charm. Confident in the eternal truth of his system, he goes boldly battling his way through all the corruptions of art, knocking down false principles and false professors with a calm strength and fearlessness that astonish you. You see angry advocates and practisers of old errors assailing him on all sides, but with no more effect than arrows of stubble would have on the hide of the rhinosceros. The truth of nature triumphs in his person, and the heart and convictions of the public follow him and grow around him from day to day. There can be no question but that the works of Mr. Ruskin will produce the most decided and enduring revolution in every quarter of the world of art and architecture.

It will be only justice, however, to both author and reader, to state in the outset, that in the present volume there will be found few of those eloquent and detailed expressions of the author's views of art in general, which abounded in his two former ones, and which gave them so immediate a popularity. This volume is, for the most part, a simple and somewhat dry demonstration of the elementary laws of architecture. Had it been meant to stand alone it would have been only fair and proper to call it a treatise on architecture, on Mr. Ruskin's principles. It is not the stones of Venice, but the introduction to them, which we are led to expect in the next volume. Here we have the laws drawn from a severe study of the buildings of Venice. There we are to look for the exhibition of those laws in the description of the glorious erections themselves. It is evident, therefore, that this volume is intended rather for the student of architecture, than for the many. It cannot, by any means, gratify the general reader, but it will prove invaluable to the lover of art, whether he be acquainting himself with its principles for the purpose of future practice, or as an amateur in whom the love of art is the source of profound gratification. To such every line will be a line of light, leading on to the full development of the subject in the next volume, and will be studied with an enthusiasm of which the ordinary reader can have no conception.

Before speaking of the main topic of Mr. Ruskin's work, and the things in which we entirely agree with him, there are one or two dogmatic assertions, which it may be as well to deal with. They are just those particulars which startle his greatest admirers, and which raise especially an antagonist feeling.

'All European architecture,' he says, 'bad and good, old and new, is derived from Greece through Rome, and coloured and perfected from the East. The history of architecture is nothing but the tracing of the various modes and directions of this derivation. The Doric and Corinthian orders are the roots, the one of all Romanesque, many capitaled buildings—Norman, Lombard, Byzantine, and what else you can name of the kind; and the Corinthian of all Gothic, early English, French, German, and Tuscan. Now observe: those old Greeks gave the shaft; Rome gave the arch; the Arabs pointed and foliated the arch. The shaft and arch, the frame-work and strength of architecture, are from the race of Japheth; the spirituality and sanctity of it from Ishmael, Abraham, and Shem.'

'There is high probability that the Greek received his shaft system from Egypt; but I do not care to keep this earlier derivation in the mind of the reader. It is only necessary that he should be able to refer to some fixed point of origin, when the form of the shaft was perfected. But it may be incidentally observed, that if the Greeks did receive their Doric from Egypt, then the three families of the earth have each contributed their part to its noblest architecture; and Ham, the servant of the others, furnishes the sustaining, or bearing member, the shaft; Japheth, the arch; Shem, the spiritualization of both. I have said that the two orders of Doric and Corinthian are the roots of all European architecture. You have, perhaps, heard of five orders; but there are only two real orders; and there never can be any more till doomsday.'—P. 13.

Now, we think that in this statement there are scarcely more lines than there are errors, and those delivered with a dogmatism that is astounding. In the first place, that there never can be more than two orders of architecture till doomsday, is at once to say that we have reached in art the extreme point of invention, and to limit the human intellect to the narrow bounds of our own accomplished knowledge. We are satisfied that the author will find but very few who will go along with him in so extraordinary an assertion. We also equally demur to the fact of there being only two real orders of architecture—Doric and Corinthian. That all orders hitherto known may be classified under those with a convex and those with a concave tendency of capital, may be true; but the essentials of a distinct order depend on other features than these; and we are persuaded that there would have been Gothic architecture as perfect, and as completely what it is at the present day, if there had never existed any Grecian architecture at all. The whole nature, essence, and character, of the

two styles of architecture, Greek and Gothic, are so utterly dissimilar, that they cannot be brought into question as to identity of origin, or as to derivation of one from the other. In fact, the Greek architecture has conferred nothing on the Gothic, not even the shaft; and Mr. Ruskin, indeed, partly recollects himself and corrects himself, though reluctantly, in this respect. He admits that the Greeks derived the shaft from Egypt; a fact too palpable to be denied. That admitted, what, then, does Gothic architecture derive from the Greeks? The shaft is all that Mr. Ruskin claims, and this he again gives up; the ornament and spiritualization of both shaft and arch he properly ascribes to Shem.

Gothic architecture, therefore, we re-assert, could and would have existed as it does, had no Greece ever been. In Egypt existed the shaft before Greece was a nation; in India existed the arch before Rome was heard of. In fact, neither from Greece, nor Egypt, nor India, do we derive the shaft or the Gothic arch. The very first man who set up the stem of a tree to form a porch for his forest shed, originated the pure shaft; and the next man who joined two branches and two such stems with their upper points meeting, originated the Gothic pointed arch. The elements of Gothic architecture descend from the earliest ages, independent of the architecture of Greece or Rome; and the ornament of this exquisite style of architecture has developed itself, through successive centuries, to its present affluent and most poetical existence. Mr. Ruskin, indeed, sneers at the innumerable foolish theories about the derivation of Gothic from trees and avenues, 'which have from time to time been brought forward by persons ignorant of the history of architecture.' But such dogmatic sneers will not any the more set aside the belief in the origin of Gothic architecture from such application of trees, and such observation of the sublime forms which they assume in nature. Mr. Ruskin is well aware of the existence of the wooden churches of the northern Goths; for he refers to them; and what so natural as that the dwellers in the ancient forests, and especially in the forests of the north of Europe, where the primitive rock was too stubborn and resistant in its nature for the time and tools of the inhabitants, should resort, as they did, to wood for their churches, and should arrange their wood in the forms which the natural sweep of branches and the striking grandeur of scenery so palpably pointed out? In the magnificent cathedral of Ulm, the architect has recorded *his* conviction of this being the true origin of that style which he was so noble a master of, by roofing his porch with stone-work cut into the shape of branches, represented with all their bark, their inequalities, and the lopping-off of side-branches.

It is, at least, singular that Mr. Ruskin, while setting aside Grecian architecture as perfectly absurd and useless in this climate, and expending all his lore on the Gothic—which is, in truth, the only style in which all the ornaments whose direct derivation from nature he so ably recommends, can be employed in its endless variety—should have been at so much pains to draw the Gothic from the utterly incongruous Greek, and not from the genius of the ancient Gothic nations, where are found existing from the earliest times all its independent elements.

One more instance we may give of that waywardness, which affords so easy a handle to Mr. Ruskin's enemies. We will not attempt to combat his positive declaration, to be found at page 44, that 'no man ever really enjoyed doing evil since God made the world ;' for every person's experience, and the whole course of both sacred and profane history, must satisfy most people that there are tens of thousands who feel an intense pleasure in doing evil, in the exercise of malice, of despotism, and of destruction—or why do they do it? The moral and religious philosophers can confute him so promptly and effectually, that to them we leave him. But what of this passage?—

'A *builder*, not an architect ; he may be a rough, artless, feelingless man, incapable of doing any one truly fine thing all his days. I shall call upon you to despise him presently in a sort, but not as if he were a mere smoother of mortar ; perhaps a great man, infinite in memory, indefatigable in labour, exhaustless in expedient, unsurpassable in quickness of thought. Take good heed you understand him before you despise him.'

'But why is he to be in any way despised? By no means despise him, unless he happen to be without a soul, or at least to show no signs of it.'—P. 40.

Now if Mr. Ruskin's notion of architecture were no clearer than this passage, we should not expect much from it. This man is to be despised and not to be despised. We are called on to despise him, and then warned off from despising him. In one place he is 'a great man, infinite in memory, indefatigable in labour, exhaustless in expedient, unsurpassable in quickness of thought.' Surely such an architect cannot be a proper subject for contempt, unless, adds Mr. Ruskin, 'he happens to be without a soul.' But how a man is to be a great man, infinite in memory, and exhaustless in expedient, and yet without a soul, is beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals ; or how 'a rough, artless, feelingless man, incapable of doing any one truly fine thing all his days,' can be a *great man*, as Mr. Ruskin seems to say that he may, is equally inconceivable. We imagine that he means that a man may be a very clever builder and yet no

original genius ; but just so many words could have expressed that idea, while this chaos of contradictory terms expresses nothing.

In the second half of the volume Mr. Ruskin steers more clear of these vagaries, though still they show themselves in occasional instances, but the bulk of the work is very soberly, methodically, and admirably occupied with demonstrating what is false and what is true in every department of the art. This demonstration is introduced in the second part by this sentence :—‘ I said that all noble ornamentation is the expression of man’s delight in God’s work. This implied that there was an ignoble ornamentation, which was the expression of man’s delight in his *own*. There is a school, chiefly degraded classic and renaissance, in which the ornament is composed of imitations of things made by man. I think, before inquiring what we like best of God’s work, we had better get rid of all this imitation of man’s, and be quite sure that we do not like *that*.’—P. 205.

In this passage we have the test of whatever is true and beautiful in art. If we find there genuine and adequate imitation of the beautiful things of nature, applied in the same spirit and sense of beauty in which nature has been created, we may rest assured that we have true art before us. And Mr. Ruskin goes on through all the materials of architecture,—columns, with their bases and capitals, arches, with their tracery and spandrels, walls, windows, roofs, and all their decorations, showing us the true and the spurious by this unerring guide. When once our architects shall have come to embrace this principle, to take it fully and with a perfect love into their hearts, then we shall begin to see a new era arising, in which our present heavy monstrosities shall give way to fabrics, in which all the graceful forms of trees, flowers, animals, and the shadows and loveliest hues of nature shall be made to combine into a harmonious whole, charming us at once with their fitness and their grace. These teachings, as we have said, are for the careful student, and he must make himself perfectly master of these simple, but sublime elements of the art.

‘ These,’ then continues the author, ‘ having been now defined, I do indeed leave my reader free to build ; and with what a freedom ! All the lovely forms of the universe set before him, whence to choose, and all the lovely lines that form their substance, or guide their motion ; and of all these lines—and there are myriads of myriads in every bank of grass, and every tuft of forest ; and groups of them divinely harmonized, in the bell of every flower, and in every several member of bird and beast—of all these lines, for the principal forms of the most important members of architecture, I have used but three ! What must, therefore, be the infinity of the treasure in them all ? There is material enough in a single flower for the ornament of a score of

cathedrals; but suppose we were satisfied with less exhaustive appliance, and built a score of cathedrals each to illustrate a single flower? That would be better than trying to invent new styles, I think. There is quite difference of style enough between a violet and a harebell for all reasonable purposes.

‘Perhaps, however, even more strange than the struggle of our architects to invent new styles, is the way they commonly speak of this treasure of natural infinity. Let us tax our patience for an instant, and hear one of them, not amongst the least intelligent:—

‘“It is not true that all natural forms are beautiful. We may hardly be able to detect this in Nature herself; but when the forms are separated from the things, and exhibited alone (by sculpture or carving), we then see that they are not all fitted for ornamental purposes; and that, indeed, very few, perhaps none, are so fitted without correction. Yes, I say *correction*; for though it is the highest aim of every art to imitate Nature, this is not to be done by imitating any natural form, but by *criticising* and *correcting* it—criticising it by Nature’s rules gathered from her own works, but never completely carried out by her in any one work—correcting it by rendering it more natural, *i. e.* more conformable to the general tendency of Nature, according to that noble maxim recorded of Raffaelle, ‘that the artist’s object was to make things not as Nature makes them, but as she *would* make them;’ as she ever tries to make them, but never succeeds, though her aim may be deduced from a comparison of her own efforts; just as if a number of archers had aimed unsuccessfully at a mark upon a wall, and this mark were then removed, we could by the examination of their arrow-marks point out the most probable position of the spot aimed at, with a certainty of being nearer to it than any of their shots.”\*

‘I had thought that by this time we had done with that stale, second-hand, one-sided, and misunderstood saying of Raffaelle’s; or that, at least, in these days of purer Christian light, men might have begun to get some insight into the meaning of it. Raffaelle was a painter of humanity; and, assuredly, there is something the matter with humanity—a few *dorebbes* more or less wanting in it. We have most of us heard of original sin, and may, perhaps, in our modest moments, conjecture that we are not quite what God, or Nature, would have us to be. Raffaelle *had* something to mend in humanity;—I should have liked to have seen him mending a daisy! or a pease-blossom, or a moth, or a mustard-seed, or any other of God’s slightest works. If he had accomplished that, one might have found him more respectable employment—to set the stars in better order, perhaps (they seem grievously scattered as they are, and to be of all shapes and sizes, except the ideal shape and the proper size); or to give us a more corrected view of the ocean—that, at least, seems a very irregular and improvable thing—the very fishermen do not know to this day how far it will reach, driven up before the west wind—perhaps some one else does, but that is not our business.’—Pp. 339—341.

Mr. Ruskin concludes his volume by giving us a sort of rapid

\* Garbett on Design, p. 74.

journey from Padua to Venice, pointing out as he goes the true and the false, till he introduces us into the latter city ; and with the words, ' It is Venice,' he intimates that we are arrived at the spot where in his next volume he intends to unfold before us those architectural glories which shall vindicate the title he has assumed.

But as it is said of ladies' letters, Mr. Ruskin puts almost the most significant matter into his postscript—that is, an Appendix of no less than sixty-four pages. In this he opens his heart as well as his intellect on various topics of peculiar interest. Our space forbids us indulging too much here, but there is one section of the Appendix, the twelfth, which is of so much importance at the present moment, that we must give the substance of it. Mr. Ruskin is not only a sound architect, but a sound and zealous Protestant, and, like every one who has visited Catholic countries, he has seen everywhere with a proper indignation the extraordinary manner in which Romanism debauches and sensualizes the taste of its followers. How, instead of leading the popular mind to the great and noble spiritualities of the Christian faith, withdrawing its contemplation from the mere creature to the Creator, from the poorness of fallen humanity to the sublime glory of Him whom 'the heaven of heavens cannot contain,' and from the specious sanctity of saints and virgins to the all-embracing love and divine purity of the Saviour, it desecrates even the noblest specimens of ancient architecture, with the most tawdry and trumpery of internal paraphernalia. No contrast can be so striking, or so repulsive, as that presented by the exquisite taste of many of the continental cathedrals, and the execrable taste of their altars, their pictures, and their imagery. In some few you have great works by great masters, but even these are surrounded and almost lost in a crowd of paintings or daubs, in which the most debasing objects are presented to the eyes of the people. Even in the images of the Saviour, the wounds in the hands and feet are made swollen, festering and horrible, and from his side a wire nearly half-an-inch thick is conveyed to the ground, painted red, to represent a stream of blood. The architectural taste of their altars is generally equally vile, and they are so loaded with articles of tinsel, and things smacking of the toyshop, that you regard them with equal wonder and disgust.

Whence comes this downward and unspiritualizing tendency ? It is significant enough if we understand that this taste has grown up since the Reformation. It is part and parcel of the same system which all over the Catholic world keeps down education, discourages freedom of opinion, prohibits the Bible in the hands of the people, and substitutes the confessional for the school, the

lecture-room, and the freedom of the press. It is but a portion of the system by which Catholicism seeks to keep the light out of the mind ; and the mind, therefore, too poor and sensual to comprehend it, if it find its way in. But hear Mr. Ruskin's judgment of ' ROMANIST MODERN ART.'

' It is of the highest importance, in these days, that Romanism should be deprived of the miserable influence which its pomp and picturesqueness have given it over the weak sentimentalisms of the English people. I call it a miserable influence, for of all motives to sympathy with the Church of Rome, this I unhesitatingly class as the basest. I can, in some measure, respect the other feelings, which have been the beginnings of apostasy ; I can respect the desire for unity, which would reclaim the Romanist by love, and the distrust of his own heart, which subjects the proselyte to priestly power. I say, I can respect these feelings, though I cannot pardon unprincipled submission to them, nor enough wonder at the infinite fatuity of the unhappy persons whom they have betrayed :—fatuity self-inflicted and stubborn in resistance to God's word and man's reason !—to talk of the authority of the Church, as if the Church were anything else than the whole company of Christian men, or ever were spoken of in the Scripture as other than a company to be taught and fed, not to feed and teach.

' Fatuity ! to seek for the unity of a living body of truth and trust in God, with a dead body of lies and trust in wood, and thence to expect anything else than plague and consumption, by worms undying, for both. Blasphemy, as well as fatuity ! to ask for any better interpreter of God's word than God, or to expect knowledge of it in any other way than the plainly ordered way : if any man will do he shall KNOW. But of all these fatuities, the basest is the being lured into the Romanist church by the glitter of it, like larks into a trap by broken glass ; to be blown into a change of religion by the whine of an organ-pipe, or stitched into a new creed by gold thread on priests' petticoats ; jangled into a change of conscience by the chimes of a belfry. I know nothing in the shape of error so dark as this, no imbecility so absolute, no treachery so contemptible. I had hardly believed that it was a thing possible, though vague stories had been told me of the effect on some minds of merely scarlet and candles, until I came on this passage in Pugin's " Remarks on Articles in the Rambler : "—

" Those who have lived in want and privation are the best qualified to appreciate the blessings of plenty : thus, to those who have been devout and sincere members of the separated portion of the English Church, who have prayed, and hoped, and loved, through all the poverty of the maimed rites which it has retained—to them does the realization of all their longing desires appear truly ravishing. . . . Oh ! then, what delight ! what joy unspeakable ! when one of the solemn piles is presented to them, in all its pristine life and glory ! The stoups are filled to the brim ; the rood is raised on high ; the screen glows with sacred imagery and rich device ; the niches are filled ; the altar is replaced, sustained by sculptural shafts, the relics of saints repose beneath, the body of our Lord is enshrined on its

consecrated stone ; the lamps of the sanctuary burn bright ; the saintly portraiture in the glass windows shine all gloriously ; and the albs hang in the oaken ambries, and the cope-chests are filled with the orphreyed baudekins ; and pix and pax, and chrismatory are there, and thurible and cross.”

‘ One might have put this man under a pix, and left him there, one should have thought ; but he has been brought forward and partly received as an example of the effect of ceremonial splendour on the mind of a great architect. It is very necessary, therefore, that all those who have felt sorrow at this, should know at once that he is not a great architect, but one of the smallest possible or conceivable architects.’—Pp. 272-3.

Mr. Ruskin quotes Mr. Pugin’s own account of the building of St. George’s, Southwark, the Catholic churches of Nottingham and Parkham, to prove his assertion. He then adds :—

‘ I should have said, all that I have said above of artistical apostasy if Giotto had now been living in Florence, and if art were still doing all that it once did for Rome. But the grossness of the error becomes incomprehensible as well as unpardonable, when we look to what level of degradation the human intellect has sunk at this instant in Italy. So far from Romanism now producing anything great in art, it cannot even preserve what has been given to its keeping. I know no abuses of precious inheritance half so grievous as the abuse of all that is left in art wherever the Romish priesthood get possession of it. It amounts to absolute infatuation. The noblest pieces of mediæval sculpture in north Italy, the two griffins at the central (west) door of the cathedral of Verona, were daily permitted to be brought into service, when I was there, in the autumn of 1849, by a washerwoman living in the Piazza, who tied her clothes-lines to their beaks ; and the shafts of St. Mark’s, at Venice, were used by a salesman of common caricatures to fasten his prints upon, and this in the face of the continually passing priests : while the quantity of noble art annually destroyed in altarpieces by candle-droppings, or perishing by pure brutality of neglect, passes all estimate. I do not know, as I have repeatedly stated, how far the splendour of architecture, or other art, is compatible with the honesty and usefulness of religious service. The longer I live, the more I incline to severe judgment in this matter, and the less I can trust the sentiments excited by painted glass and coloured tiles. But if there be indeed value in such things, our plain duty is to direct our strength against the superstition which has dishonoured them ; there are thousands who might possibly be benefited by them, to whom they are now merely an offence, owing to their association with idolatrous ceremonies. I have but this exhortation to all who love them—not to regulate their creeds by their taste in colours, but to hold calmly to the right at whatever present cost to their imaginative enjoyment ; sure that they will one day find in heavenly truth a brighter charm than in earthly imagery, and in striving to gather stones for the eternal building, whose walls are salvation, and whose gates are praise.’—Pp. 370—374.

The extracts we have made will, we think, satisfy the reader that the present work of Mr. Ruskin is well worthy of his reputation. If studied in the spirit in which it is written, it cannot fail of purifying public taste, and directing it into the right channel. In no department of art is this more necessary in this country than in architecture. Whenever the people at large shall have fully adopted our author's grand axiom, that 'all noble ornament is the expression of man's delight in God's work,' they will no longer tolerate erections which, indeed, astonish foreigners, but in a manner not flattering to our national pride. We shall look forward to the second volume of this truly important work with the anticipation of no ordinary pleasure.

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ART. VII.—*Rovings in the Pacific, from 1837 to 1849; with a Glance at California.* By a Merchant long resident at Tahiti. 2 vols. London: Longman and Co.

RECENT travellers have presented us with charming narratives of their strange adventures and hair-breadth escapes by flood and field. To travel has become the *vogue*. Men eagerly ask for new scenes for their adventure. They have wearied of the Grand Tour. Steam-locomotion gives the traveller great advantage in economizing both time and money; so that, in these days of rapid transit, the snug citizen is not content to go only to Margate, or Brighton, or even to Boulogne, the *Ultima Thule* of holiday-tourists, till a very recent period. Boulogne does not satisfy him; Brussels becomes only the first resting-place on a very long journey. Even Paris is not an ultimate post; and though the man who took breakfast in 'the city,' dines at his ease in the gay *café*, the appetite for sight-seeing is not satiated by the glories of the Louvre,—Switzerland and Naples must also be seen. For a long time, certain high-roads were followed by the Englishman in his travels. A hasty visitation to the quaint old towns of Flanders is not now enough for the dyspeptic barrister or the hard-worked citizen. The glories of the Rhine-banks, and the magnificent scenery of the Alps, have become familiar to many whose roving spirits are hardly satisfied by surveying Greece and Palestine. Of late, new fields of adventure have been sought and found. Not a few of our citizens have sojourned with the Dyaks, been scorched at Hong-Kong, or shivered off the Horn. Mr. Ruxton fascinates us by the glowing account of his Mexican

rambles ; and 'a Merchant long resident at Tahiti' makes it clear enough, in his two handsome volumes, that 'rovings in the Pacific' are both pleasant and profitable. His very interesting narrative is told with perfect English bluntness and heartiness ; the reader is never allowed to become wearied. Our traveller graphically describes the lights and shadows of the southern isles ; and, following him in imagination as he threads the perils of lagoons, scarcely escapes coral reefs, or scuds before the driving sea-wind, we almost hear the roar of the breakers, the lashing of surges, and the howling of storms. The author informs us, he has 'passed his days not in the idealities of life, but in its downright rough realities ; and he is not without hope that these volumes, the simple record of his experience, may stimulate many a youth, whose energies are lying dormant for want of a field for their exertion in this densely-peopled country, to seek, in the Isles of the Pacific, the home and the adventurous career which he is sure to find there, if he faint not.'

Our worthy rover's tale is a very simple one. Rejected by the lady of his love—though whether merely 'refused,' or cruelly jilted by that fair sovereign-personage, deponent doth not say—he determines to seek peace for his distracted heart, if not fortune for his pocket, in foreign lands. Thus sternly resolving, he joins a ship at Deptford, which was chartered not merely to take out emigrants, but also to carry to penal settlements those children of vice and crime whom society first neglects, and then makes outcasts from her pale. The description given of the prison-ship is graphic enough ; though the 310 convicts on board her appear, on the whole, a harmless, though a motley assemblage. The truant esquire, *percusus amore*, seems not to have carried the envenomed barb long in his heart, or, at least, it did not rankle there. *Haud ignarus mali*, one wishes not to 'jest at scars ;' but we cannot think that our hero's wounds were either sore or deep—for, what with his amusing experiences in the boatswain's mess, his night-phenomena, and many daily occurrences of a ludicrous tendency, he must have had an exciting time of it in the prison-ship, and have been altogether a most entertaining messmate. After a not disagreeable voyage, the good ship anchors in the harbour of Sydney, a city 'in every respect so completely English, that having made up one's mind to become a foreigner, you are rather surprised to discover that you have travelled so many thousands of miles to no purpose.' Our rambler is not contented to abide in Sydney ; and he goes out to see life in the bush, and, narrating his fortunes there, he gives a frightful story of the whip-snake, as it is termed in the Australian vernacular, a small but deadly reptile. The aborigines, 'the ugliest race of beings conceivable,' are not more

physically than morally hideous. In them we behold, perhaps, the lowest grade of humanity. Their religious instinct is exceedingly faint ; and though we cannot believe with Bougainville, that there is any tribe on the face of the earth, however savage, in which this instinct has not place ; in the Australian tribes the religious idea has certainly its least possible development. They fear, but they do not reverence ; they have certain brutal and disgusting customs connected with superstition, but they know not what it is to worship. With a rude and bare language of their own, they learn the English tongue with amazing facility. Without settled abode—for all the native tribes appear to be more or less nomadic—they neither sow nor reap. Snakes, opossums, grubs, and iguanas, furnish them with food. That scourge of the savage, alcohol, has been abundantly introduced among them, and will, doubtless, ere many years, commit ravages as frightful among the Australian tribes, as formerly among the savage inhabitants of the American forest and prairie. Our romantic adventurer found nothing attractive in the aboriginal society of New Holland ; and without a great increase in his worldly wealth, after a sojourn of two years and a half, he proceeded to New Zealand. Thither our emigrants, of late years, have rushed, expecting either to make rapid fortunes, or to find a paradise among the Maoris ; but nothing can be more wretched than the townships, nothing more humiliating than the disappointment of the unfortunate emigrants, the 'victims,' in New Zealand phraseology. The market is glutted with goods ; there are far more settlers than houses ; and the traveller, on reaching the commercial town of Kororarika, found himself 'a disappointed man.' On visiting Pihea, the episcopal missionary-settlement, he observed that the missionaries lay claim to vast tracts of the best land, which they have ingeniously termed 'Church property ;' having, no doubt, a calculating thought in reference to the future, when the Anglo-Saxon perseverance shall have turned the New Zealand wilderness into a fruitful field. It is curious to observe how the priest, in whatever circumstances he may be, never belies the distinctive peculiarities of his order. From that evil hour in which Constantine folded the imperial purple around the cross, and graciously took the religion of Jesus Christ under his protection ; it has always happened—accidentally, no doubt—that in every land it has entered, the ecclesiastical genius has quickly discovered and possessed itself of whatever treasures the land contained, either in the soil, the mountain, or the stream. So the gentlemen, who have made spiritual excursions to the savage New Zealand, may possibly find those excursions in every sense profitable. It is noteworthy how the episcopal

offensiveness and greed, which have been, many ages, so glaringly manifested at home, have gradually, but very astutely, been developed in the colonies.

We commend these volumes to the serious attention of those persons who have hastily determined to emigrate ; not that there is aught in them which should altogether dissuade the emigrant from his excursion ; but they contain many excellent observations and suggestions, which will be found very useful by all who essay to find a home among the Maoris and their pahs. In reference to the natives themselves, we indulge a hope that the better influence of European society may be exerted upon them, and that English intrusion may not lead, as in other regions, to the complete extermination of the aboriginal inhabitants. The young traveller was agreeably surprised by the noble appearance of the native people—fine, strongly-built men, possessed of no little intelligence and activity. The women did not ‘captivate’ the love-exile. No doubt, he contrasted them with his capricious Miranda in London ; but, alas, for the comparison ! Their movements were ungraceful, and ‘they walked with the waddle of a duck.’ It is, perhaps, to the unreflecting a strange fact, that in the dominions of heathen barbarity—and we believe the fact obtains universally among savage tribes—how attractive soever the younger people may appear to the eye of a European, the old are generally hideous to a great degree. The elder Maori-people possess this disgusting quality to a vast extent. The elder women especially are wrinkled ‘like animated mummies.’ Their senile condition may be attributed either to the positive hardships of their youth and maturity, or to the wretched nutriment they obtain for the sustenance of life, or perhaps to both these causes. Till within a very few years, the Maori was a filthy and bloody savage, eating his prisoners, restrained by no law from the gross excesses of heathenism, hateful and hating. Now, though his civilization is in only an incipient state, it is in actual existence, and in a certain, though, it may be, slow progress. The European has introduced many evils, but he has also conferred upon the land some benefits ; and though the white man may rob the islander of his land and its fruits, though he may overthrow his rude shrines, and demolish his pahs ; he will, nevertheless, indirectly introduce that religion which ever proves to be a blessing and not a curse. Already, as we find, some light has broken in on the dense darkness of the tribes. The greater number of them can read and write, and there are few who have not some correct notions of duty and of responsibility. At one of the native settlements, near Hicke’s bay, the Maoris had appointed one of their own people to be

their minister, and he offered daily prayer among them, with great regularity and decorum in its observance at morning, noon, and evening. The people join in the services of devotion with much attention and seriousness. Every hut contained a Bible or a Prayer-book; wars have almost ceased; and the Sabbath-day is observed with a strictness and decency which would put to shame the English metropolis. It is beautiful—amid all the errors, real or exaggerated, of the episcopal missionaries, and it is possible those errors may have been considerably magnified—to see the holy and serene light of the true faith breaking upon the land once so notorious for its heathenism, ignorance, and barbarity. Our traveller may be taken as a safe authority in all matters relative to New Zealand, as he spent much time there, and as he became thoroughly familiar with the habits of the natives. Starting from New Zealand, he visited various islands in the Pacific, obtaining, by his rovings, much knowledge, which will be very useful, in its publication, both to geographer and to mariner. In one excursion, he chanced upon Norfolk Island, the doleful spot to which the English Government transports its worst malefactors, escape from which could be effected only by miracle—an island, which shows on the main like a desolate rock. Indeed, its very appearance from the sea indicates that hope can have no place in the breasts of its doomed inhabitants, estranged to the world and the world's law, except in the penalty of it. A sentinel forbade our traveller to approach; but having obtained the necessary permission to land, he was surprised to find the island to be about twenty miles in length and from three to six in breadth, with a rich and fertile soil, producing many tropical fruits. To quote from his narrative—

‘ On waiting upon the commandant, he received me with evident alarm; and so far from gratifying me with any vegetables, he told me they were short themselves of everything, and begged me to leave the island, as he should not feel happy until he heard that I was gone. The commandant, I was informed, had been attempting a legislation different from that practised by any of his predecessors. Many of the prisoners had been freed from their manacles, and greater liberty had been granted to them than they had ever before experienced under their penal circumstances. The return they made for this clemency was to treat with insolence those placed over them, and several attempted to effect their escape. One party, only a few days previous to my visit, seized a boat belonging to a brig that touched for refreshments, and got clean off with it; but as a heavy gale sprang up that same night, it is supposed they must have perished; and before this event, another party, who had been engaged building a boat for the authorities, so soon as it was completed, succeeded in launching it, and in getting away. Some time after, the master of a whaler out of

Sydney landed at a barren island in a north-westerly direction, and picked up seven human skulls; and as they tallied with the number of those who made their escape, it is not improbable that they reached this spot to die a miserable death from hunger and exhaustion. The commandant admitted that the island was in a very disorganized state, which will account for his anxiety to cut our acquaintance short. The island was formerly a place of banishment for double-convicted felons only, desperadoes of the blackest dye, on whom ordinary punishment had no effect. But since transportation to New South Wales has been done away with, several shipments of prisoners have been consigned to Norfolk Island direct; and this may have had some effect in causing the commandant to ameliorate the condition of the prisoners generally; but the common opinion seemed to be that they were allowed by far too free scope, and from what I observed I should think so too. Many appeared to be seeking their own pleasure, some were lolling about in apathetic idleness, and others were strolling apparently unrestrained; and long before the sun had made his *congé*, we could distinguish parties of eight and ten assembled on the rocks fishing with rod and line. Now, as there are 1,800 prisoners on the island, and only 160 soldiers, including officers, I should be inclined to doubt the policy of allowing them such liberty. With the exception of the wives of the officers, and those of a few of the soldiers, there are no women on the island, which tends to brutalize the prisoners to a frightful extent, and they are guilty of more *monstrosities* than probably they ever contemplated in the land they have been expelled from *to correct them of their crimes*. The accounts furnished me by an overseer, in tones of cool indifference, were so revolting that my blood ran chill with horror.' —Vol. i. pp. 153—155.

During all his rovings, there was no island which so much delighted our traveller as Tahiti, which he does not hesitate to name 'Queen of the Islands in the Pacific.' Tahiti does not show well from the sea; but, so soon as one has landed, he finds himself in a vale of level land, fertile and beautiful exceedingly. Well-watered, abundant in the tropical fruits and vegetables, prolific in soil and in the production of fragrant flowers, shrubs, and noble trees, the island provides its inhabitants not only with the necessaries, but also with many of the comforts of life. The scenery of the island is that of fairy-land. The inhabitants, both male and female, are, perhaps, the most graceful and well-proportioned of all the savage tribes; the women endowed with beautiful hair, which they keep scrupulously clean and neat; and the whole race are decidedly handsome people. We are very sorry to find that our author describes them as 'the most sensual people under heaven.' He informs us that the missionaries, with laudable zeal, have endeavoured to check prostitution by making it, when discoverable and brought home to the guilty parties, punishable by a fine of so many dollars; but, he adds, 'this system of punishment is eluded and laughed

at, or, if the parties are detected, the paramour pays the fine, and the crime continues.' We are disposed to take this writer as an authority upon many matters connected with the island of Tahiti, because he has lived many years upon it—because it is his home—and because he gives the missionaries there a very high character for zeal and earnestness in their noble work. Of course, missionaries have the frailties which are common to humanity, as they cannot lay claim to apostolical infallibility; and they may sometimes have erred in judgment by taking too prominent a position in the economical or political affairs of the island; but we must be permitted altogether to dissent from the opinion expressed in vol. i. p. 223—and we are astonished such an opinion should have found expression in these otherwise credible volumes—'that he conscientiously believes the character of the 'natives has not been improved by missionary intercourse; that 'fear and not religious restraint is the governing principle' among the natives; and that 'there have been as many wolves as shepherds amongst the folds.' These opinions, though formed and written on the spot by an intelligent, dispassionate, and philanthropic man, are directly contradictory to numerous other credible witnesses, and, indeed, to many of his own subsequent statements. That the English public have expected too much from the missionaries, whose exertions—though they may be foolishly supposed by the ignorant to be capable of almost miraculous success among the heathen—are constantly thwarted by the evil influence of the European vessels touching at the island; and that the halo of a ridiculous romance has been cast around the evangelist's labours in the southern isles, we are bound to believe;—but that those labours have been productive of other than good—and that not a physical, but a spiritual benefit to the natives—to say nothing of the direct advantage conferred upon them by the introduction of European civilization—is a statement we cannot, and will not, receive. At the time of the 'Merchant's' first visit to the island, Pomare was queen, and high is the tribute which he repeatedly pays to her great worth, and to her forbearance and Christian fortitude under her many sorrows. She took but little part, however, in the government, which was carried on by seven supreme judges. The natives have a law in force something similar to that of curfew, which obtained in this country, after the Norman invasion and conquest; by the provisions of which all persons, dwelling in the island, found walking abroad, after the hour of eight in the evening, are fined. Native constables keep a strict watch during the entire night. Drunkenness is severely fined. In almost every village there is a place of worship. The old superstitions have, with but one or two except-

tions, fallen almost into oblivion. The power of the missionaries is very great in the island, and, on the whole, we must believe their power has been well used. The natives meet, it appears, in larger or smaller numbers, for divine worship, every morning, when the 'reading-desk' is occupied by some native teacher. The natives sing with peculiar sweetness. Some of the women especially have voices of silvery sweetness and delicacy;—and long may they attune them to those divine melodies which the missionaries have introduced! The Church of Rome has been, for some years, very busy in the islands of the Pacific; and we must be allowed to present to our readers the author's graphic description of the French priests and their establishments on the island of Mangarava.

'Within the last seven years, three French missionaries, of the Papal persuasion, have established themselves upon the island; and the control they have contrived to acquire over the simple inhabitants must be seen to be believed: it is so absolute, that their very movements appear to be guided by what the missionaries would think of them. They have churches erected on every island; and that on Pearl Island would not disgrace any civilized country. It is built of stone; the roof supported by two rows of massive stone pillars, nine in each row, forming an aisle on either side; the ceiling in the centre of the building being dome-shaped, arching over from the pillars. . . . So much scenic display, and the mysterious ceremonies used in the Romish Church, are well calculated to dazzle the senses, and instil awe into the minds of the ignorant heathen, as in their own practices they invariably used emblems to appeal to the senses; and, short as is the time that it has taken to effect it, and few the labourers, the natives are completely enslaved, body and soul. The wonders that have arisen before their eyes, through the instrumentality of these priests, have inspired them with fear as much as any other emotion: they are full of amazement at their resources and their power; and their displeasure is dreaded in proportion to the extent that this feeling can be excited. What filled me with the greatest astonishment was, *that the priests have actually established a nunnery*, in which they have contrived to immerse, at this present writing, **NINETY NATIVE WOMEN**. The building is on a bare shoulder of Mount Duff, *so that no one can approach or leave it without the priest's knowledge*. The women on the island are instructed to conceal themselves on the approach of a man, and during my rambles every woman that I saw at a distance made her escape to some place of retirement on my meeting her observation. With the exception of two withered old women, I had no opportunity of judging of the features of any of the females on the islands. I only saw two of the "fathers"—jolly, portly-built fellows, with such rotundity of paunch that one is irresistibly led to the conclusion, that *such could only be obtained by the fasting, vigils, and denying penances of Robin Hood's friar*. I wonder if their visits to the nunnery are frequent; it strikes me that the harem of the Grand Turk is more excusable than such a system of Church government.'—Vol. i. pp. 283—285.

‘Two French priests have recently obtained footing on the island, agents of the Propagandist Society, and their eagerness to gain proselytes persuades me that they belong to a body who will scruple at no means to establish themselves. At present, they are living with the natives, and conforming to their modes and habits, with Jesuitical skill preparing the way for a future display, by a contrast of their power. It is surmised that they belong to a strong party in France, who are endeavouring to effect a revolution in the religious world, and to gain for their Church power equal to that once possessed by the head of the Papal Church. *Attached to their mission they have a trading store*, similar to the store belonging to the same society in Tahiti. Louis Philippe, it is said, is in some way connected with the society; and from his accredited trading propensities, it is not unlikely. The society is supported by shareholders; and what a field seems open! and what a speculation—the trade for souls, and worldly wealth and power!’—Vol. ii. p. 157.

We cannot track our traveller in all his ‘rovings’ in the Pacific; but we concern ourselves with his account principally of Tahiti, as any authentic intelligence of that island and its people must be interesting to our readers. On his second visit to this beautiful island, he received the astounding information that Captain Du Petit Thouars had visited it in a heavy frigate, and by the terror of his guns had forced Queen Pomare to accept the ‘protection’ of the French Government. It would appear that some Frenchmen, who were Propagandist emissaries, had landed on the island, some time previously; and the queen had been most unhappily advised to expel these men from her dominions, for the reason that she wished her people to have but one religious faith. This was done by virtue of a law, the scope of which was not confined to religious teachers. As an abstract principle, the French had an equal right with the English to introduce their doctrines into the island; and this error of their expulsion lay at the foundation of all the subsequent evils. The French captain, who only wanted a pretext to seize the island—at the instance of a hungry Belgian, who wished, in any manner, to better his circumstances—armed with great force, and, by way of compensation, extorted 2,000 dollars from the queen; and, as a reward for his honourable services, the Belgian beggar was nominated Consul de France. At length the French seized the island; and M. D’Aubigny, a fantastical coxcomb, was appointed Commandant-particular of the island. This is the worthy who—in violation of the law of the civilized world—seized and imprisoned ‘one Pritchard,’ at that time the British Consul there. After this outrage, the French carried matters with a high hand in the island—violating the native women, destroying the bread-fruit trees, and turning the smiling Eden of those seas either into a desert, or into that moral pest-house, a

military settlement. Our author gives full and graphic accounts of the successive defeats of the marauding Gaul by the heroic islanders, with whom, and with their excellent missionary-teachers, his sympathies are entirely enlisted. He furnishes us with many details which, if we remember rightly, the public journals of the time ignored. The murder of poor Mr. M'Kean, the pious missionary, who, as our readers will remember, was shot in his own house, is very touchingly told.

No one, with a good heart, and with a clear, discriminating sense of justice, can read these volumes, which so clearly and with so much right feeling describe the cruelties of the French brigands, and the sufferings of the heroic natives and their queen, without attesting how true it is, that the French character generally, so far as military and political events have developed it, combines the cunning artifice of the monkey, with the cruelty and bloodthirstiness of the tiger. Until our perusal of these volumes, we had but a very faint idea of the atrocious proceedings of the French in the Pacific—proceedings, indeed, which differ but little from the villanies of the bucaniers; and of the utter perfidy of King Louis Philippe, and of his faithful servant, the Huguenot-Jesuit, M. Guizot. European discipline, it is true, triumphed over savage valour; the Bourbon-banner supplanted the rude flag of the helpless island-queen; her brave subjects were forced into subjection; and the shorn and pursy priests of the Italian Church have a wide field for preaching the charities of Christianity to the people whom their compatriots endeavoured to destroy;—but they, who wrought these evils, have verily reaped according to their own sowing. It is instructive to him who would trace effects to their causes in the economy of the world, to observe how, after all, justice establishes herself against the wrong-doer. Violence and fraud, cruelty and perfidy, go not for ever unpunished; and to the careful dis- cerner of the principles on which the Great Ruler of all conducts his government, it will generally be clear that the injury which falls upon the transgressor is like in kind to that which he himself has inflicted upon others. Retribution is one of the grand principles in the Divine administration of human affairs; and that requital is imperceptible only to the wilfully unobservant. So the French king, wealthy, powerful, and astute beyond compare, approved of the cruelties and atrocities done by his servants upon a poor, ignorant, and half-savage woman, the mistress of an insignificant island; and after a very few summers, frantic-stricken by the cries of a mob, the refuse of the cellars and gutters of Paris, this same king is driven from his throne, a fugitive, whom none in his dominions truly loved, and whom few of mankind have ever really pitied. Thus we see

the working of the everlasting law of requital—man always gets as he gives.

We invite the special attention of the public to these volumes. They are exceedingly instructive, amusing, and gratifying. The writer is a man of correct taste and feeling ; and he has done not a little to instruct the English people on many subjects relating to the South Seas, of which, till our author's advent, they possessed no means of information. Ardent young men who have but scanty resources, and who long for some new field for enterprise and fortune, will do well to acquaint themselves with these very interesting and instructive 'Rovings in the Pacific.' It were needless to praise the beautiful style in which the volumes are published, because their appearing under the patronage of Messrs. Longman and Co. is a guarantee for their admirable execution.

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ART. VIII.—1. *Correspondence with the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope respecting the Caffre Tribes ; and the Recent Outbreak on the Eastern Frontier of the Colony. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 20th March, 1851.*

2. *The Caffre War : a Letter to Earl Grey on the Causes of the Present War, and the Payment of its Expenses ; with Means of Preventing Future Discontents Within and Beyond the Frontiers of the Cape Colony.* By J. J. Freeman, recently returned to England from Caffreland and the Cape of Good Hope. 8vo. London : Trelawney Saunders. 1851.
3. *The Book of the Cape ; or, Past and Future Emigration.* By Lieut.-Colonel E. Napier. Edited by Mrs. Ward, Author of 'Five Years in Caffreland.' 8vo. London. 1851.
4. *Petitions from the Colonists of the Cape of Good Hope to Her Majesty the Queen, and to both Houses of Parliament.* 8vo. London. 1851.

No apology will be required for entering fully into the subject of this paper ; seeing that questions of the highest importance respecting it must be re-opened, and that great interests, British, colonial, and aboriginal, depend on the sober and prompt settlement of those questions.

It is pretty well known who sowed tares, in olden times, when *the good man slept on his charge* ; nor is it ever disputed, that

when, in the terms of the ancient fable, dragons' teeth are scattered in an apt soil, armed men spring up plentifully. In South Africa the armed men are fearfully come upon us—that at least is certain. It is likewise but too true, that the *good man* has for years been sleeping out a deep sleep ; and the issue to be tried hereupon in this country, and in South Africa, is, whether these armed men—this fifth Caffre war and all its awful accompaniments—with the official ignorance and apathy that preceded it, are signs of the rash sowing of dragons' teeth—the tares of a policy of force and oppression ; and whether we are not entitled to say that the time is ripe for earnestly repudiating that bad policy, and for substituting for it a well-considered system of conciliation, intelligence, and vigour.

The recent facts of the case are few and striking: they are known, too, upon the highest authority ; inasmuch as Ministers, being disappointed in their promised measures of colonial economy, are compelled to justify the very unwelcome call of a large sum of money from our Exchequer, by laying the worst news before Parliament up to the latest date. It thus appears that the Governor of the Cape Colony was, lately, shut up in a fort in British Caffraria, eight hundred miles from the seat of government, and forty miles from the sea. The colonists, both Dutch and English, refused to enrol themselves ; whilst the frontier Hottentots, hitherto most faithful, and the Caffre police, are gone over in large bodies to the enemy. That enemy is not, as the Governor a little while ago said, a few discontented chiefs, deprived of power to oppress their people, who are happy to be freed from their rule by becoming British subjects ; but the whole Caffre nation, chiefs and people together, with the exception of some weaker tribes.

This astonishing refusal of the *colonists* to march to the frontier, proves irresistibly that this is not a war of races. The fact would be incredible, if not stated on the best evidence. 'I regret to add,' said the Cape Colonial Secretary, on the 31st of January last, writing for the absent Governor, 'that a second difficulty, and a very serious and *unprecedented* one, with which the Governor has to contend is, the determined and dogged inactivity of the farmers, *principally* the Dutch, who, notwithstanding the proclamation of martial law in the eastern districts, cannot be induced to move to the frontier. When I last heard from General Somerset, on the 24th of January, *not one* had joined him ; and the accounts I receive from all quarters confirm me in the opinion that no assistance of this kind can be reckoned upon. This is most serious, and cannot fail to add greatly to the duration and expense of the war.' Some have since turned out.

By great efforts, the authorities at Cape Town had induced

2,000 HOTTENTOTS in that quarter of the colony, and 700 others, to volunteer for the governor's rescue, at the cost of 2*l.* a-head bounty for six months, and rations for their families in their absence. The undertakers to get volunteers were also paid 10*s.* a-head each. What sort of a bill we shall have to pay for these items and their accompaniments, will be readily conjectured by those who know what a Cape commissariat account is. In addition to these poor, despised Hottentots, the governor has himself sent for 3,000 Zoolies from Natal to attack the Caffres in the rear! These allies set out, but were recalled to meet danger at home.

A glance at a map of South Africa will show the bearing of these events. *British* Caffreland, thus at war with us, has the discontented colonists on one side, to the west and north-west; various tribes, of doubtful attachment to us, to the north-east and east; and, further north, eagerly alive to all that is passing, some ten thousand emigrant Cape Dutch colonists, with whom already we have fought several pitched battles, and who are a terror to all about them, natives and missionaries, but who might be ruled by justice.

There is no rashness in asserting that the system of government which produces such a state of things, must deserve condemnation; and proof is producible that Ministers have been warned, over and over again, against coming calamities. Ministers, however, are by no means the only parties who are open to reproach on this point. After years of struggle in Parliament on behalf of the claims of common humanity towards the native tribes of South Africa, the *philanthropists* succeeded in putting a curb upon colonial cupidity, in giving a wholesome stimulus to official indolence, and in imposing a check upon false principles. Some better views of colonial administration were recognised—one great fact, the *restoration of an unjust conquest*, brought peace, and several excellent measures to secure its continuance were established on the Caffre frontier. If all was not done that the occasion called for, what was effected was in the right direction, and even bold. By a great oversight the philanthropists suffered themselves to be diverted from their duty; and the good efforts of 1835, 6, and 7, in Parliament and in the colonies, soon gave way. The result is before us; and it will be convenient to show, from our own former pages, that before the mischief happened the measures were recommended which the Government must now institute, along with other steps proposed by higher authority; most especially, and forthwith, a commission of local inquiry, and at once a free elective constitution for the Cape colonists, with whose aid the frontier-administration must of necessity

be carried on ;—and then their elective representation, with other colonists, in Parliament, where the supreme power of the empire must, of equal necessity, reside, with all its responsibilities. A mere official government, either at home or in the Cape colony, is no longer durable.

In December, 1847, we remarked respecting the accession of the Governor of the Cape, whose administration is now so prominently before the world—

‘ The appointment of Sir Harry Smith to succeed Sir Henry Pottinger in the government of the Cape of Good Hope, announced in the “Gazette” of the 10th of September, 1847, carries back the affairs of South Africa exactly to the position in which they stood eleven years ago. This fact is well worth attention, in all its bearings. It is nothing less than the open abandonment of a great endeavour to reconcile the progress of British power with the principles of a humane system, successful as far as that system was fairly carried ; and not completely successful, only because it was long ago shaken to its very foundations by the gross neglect of the Colonial Office. It is, moreover, a formal return to the system of simple force and conquest, hitherto always costly and cruel, and often unsuccessful.

‘ The humane system thus formally abandoned, originated with a committee of the House of Commons, which devoted three sessions almost exclusively to the consideration of aboriginal, and especially Caffre affairs—namely, in 1835, 6, and 7.’

‘ The best hopes of African civilization ever conceived, and the wisest measures for its advancement ever planned, were disappointed in that quarter through official ignorance in Downing-street.’

Our statements, though repeated by other journalists, had no effect. From time to time the system denounced produced scenes of violence, and strange, fantastic acts on the part of the Governor selected by Earl Grey to carry it out, which outraged public good feeling despite of the general indifference to such subjects. ‘ *The deeds of blood*’ done under this system in South Africa, since 1847, excited deep sympathy in that land for the sufferers ; and some of those deeds were of frightful atrocity ; but, it must be added with remorse, that, in England none cried shame upon them !

At length, however, events have produced something stronger than words of remonstrance against the system so rashly sanctioned by the Colonial Office ; and, as usual, the day of trial has brought out the men equal to its difficulties. A faithful missionary of the good old stock—a successor of *Vanderkemp*, before whose image the Caffre and the Hottentot have been seen to shed tears of grateful affection, and one who has been almost brought up under the able and aged Dr. Philip in the very scene of these disasters—the Rev. Joseph John Freeman—

speaks out upon this occasion with the boldness that becomes his character, and the force that belongs to his experience and station. His letter to Earl Grey on the causes of this war—on the payment of the expense and the disaffection of tribes once friendly—and *on measures of immediate urgency*, scarcely admits of abridgment. It will have been seen by our readers, before these pages reach them; and will have brought something of the authority of a sworn witness to the issue about to be settled in Parliament.

Mr. Freeman asserts, with great probability of being in the right, that the deposition of the chief of the Gaika tribes, Sandilla, by our Governor, and the attempt to take that chief prisoner, were the immediate causes of the war. It had been more than whispered that he '*ought to be hanged* ;' and it is well known, that a powerful party on the frontier have advocated the policy of *destroying* the Caffre chiefs, and seizing Caffreland at any price, to be divided among British settlers. That land was already largely appropriated by us without scruple, and the greatest chiefs were, not long ago, treated with extraordinary indignity by the present Governor in person. One of the worst treated was Macomo, who in his ripe manhood used to grieve that he could not write *a book* to tell of the wrongs his people had experienced at our hands, and whose old age is degraded by vices we have encouraged, and broken by sufferings and sorrows we have inflicted and aggravated, when we might have taught the noble barbarian to become a civilized, Christian man. It was not necessary the maxim of European history, *that the step is a short one from a prince's prison to his grave*, should be known to Sandilla, to make him, at all hazards, shun an English gaol. His Father Gaika—for half his life ridiculously our pet—was watched for in the same manner; the other half to be put into that gaol, and mulcted of territory too. The topic is a familiar one upon both sides of the frontier. Sir Harry Smith was emboldened to attempt Sandilla's seizure, by supposing his policy had destroyed the affections of the Caffre people for their chiefs. He forgot that he had given to that people literally nothing in exchange for their accustomed feelings. Making all due allowance for some puny efforts to educate a few hundred Caffre children, in which the Cape Governor was 'beaten-hollow' by any one of our various denominations of missionaries, facts prove that he altogether mis-calculated the moral and political effect of his work, the *severe* as well as the *beneficial*. The dethronement of the chiefs, and the confiscation of their lands—his *severe* works—have not yet stricken terror into our neighbours; the education of their children—his work of beneficence—has not bribed those neighbours to put up with political ruin.

Mr. Freeman makes a very strong statement in one part of the case in this respect:—

‘I cannot refrain from saying that *all* the border tribes are in a state of comparative discontent and alienation, and that, too, against their own deliberate wishes and judgment. They are most anxious for peace and friendship. They are ready to meet our fair demands on all occasions; to part with portions of their territory for our convenience, on adequate compensation; and to observe with all fidelity the treaties we make with them. I affirm this on my personal knowledge of them, and their own deliberate and reiterated assurances. But I have, nevertheless, seen that, with all their wishes for peace and friendship, and all their own deepest conviction that their very existence depends on their friendship with us, they were suffering extreme vexation and disgust, and repressed resentment. They looked to Sir H. Smith in vain for relief from his oppressive measures, and on this ground they entreated and charged me to lift up a voice on their behalf, as on behalf of an oppressed people, too impotent to defend themselves. I failed not to bring these matters under your Lordship’s attention as early as I could, and I hesitated not to intimate then, that I was sure it was essential to the peace and welfare of the colony that the border tribes should be in a state of friendship with us, and not of restless dissatisfaction and sullen enmity. What I feared as a result has now overtaken us, and more rapidly and terribly than I had supposed.’

On the 20th of December last, Sir Harry Smith wrote to Earl Grey that ‘it was evident that Sandilla and other chiefs had endeavoured to excite the people against the present rule, while it is equally evident they have signally failed. The people see the advantages they derive from the present state of things; and as they have generally, throughout the country, remained tranquil, and expressed their happiness, I feel warranted,’ he says, ‘in anticipating that the system so successful for three years, and which has tended to the mutual advantages of Caffres and colonists, will be perpetuated.’

On the 26th of the same month, only six days later, he wrote again that he had sent a strong patrol (of 19 officers and 568 men!) to seize Sandilla, ‘having been led to believe, from every source of information, that if a patrol shows itself, he would either surrender or fly the country.’\* He goes on—‘*This movement has been the signal of a GENERAL rising. . . . The state of affairs in British Caffreland is critical. . . . No people can evince more determined, reckless, and savage hostility than do the Caffres at this moment. What is ultimately to be done with them remains a problem.*’†

But it is not alone the Caffres, people and chiefs, that Sir

\* Despatch from Fort Cox, in British Caffreland, Correspondence, p. 72.

† Ibid.

† Ibid.

Harry Smith has fearfully misunderstood and alienated. Mr. Freeman states, and more recent accounts from the spot confirm the statement, that the hitherto devoted Hottentots have in great numbers turned against us. This is a grave fact, if true. This new hostility is aggravated by these men having been driven mad, as Mr. Freeman shows, by new oppressions under Sir Harry Smith. The charge is a heavy one, indeed, to have forced these remarkable people back from civilization into the arms of barbarism—from the use of Christian ordinances during *three* generations, and from frequent sacrifices in our defence, into a desperate rebellion! The wholesale discontent of the colonists, English as well as Dutch, completes this tale of mal-administration, and strange ignorance of the feelings of the people he governs.

In a despatch of the 7th of January last, Sir Harry Smith informs Earl Grey that 'the spirit of enthusiastic loyalty which pervades all classes of burghers within the colony, bids him calculate on their vigorous aid.\*'

And what has been the response to this call for instant enrolment?

Mr. Freeman assures us, mildly, that, on the contrary, there is a 'lingering irresolution on the part of the burghers' to march to the frontier; but he fears this springs from motives of deep and lasting disaffection, unless a radical change takes place in our colonial rule. Others have spoken out. The Colonial Secretary, writing for the Governor, who can no longer communicate with England, being shut up in an isolated fort in British Caffreland, says that *not a colonist* will join the army. General Somerset, from the frontier, says the same thing. And another frontier functionary put forth a notice, on the 29th of January, to the effect that the colony was threatened with a more determined combination than was ever known before. The Caffres were resolved to exterminate the whites, as the Governor was determined to crush them. 'To do the last,' says this frontier magistrate, '*the colony must unite. Never was delay so dangerous. Divisions among colonists now, or even a few days' delay, may bring on a great portion of the colony unheard-of calamities.*'

Thus Sir Harry Smith has proved himself as little acquainted with the disposition of the colonists of all classes, as with the feelings of the Caffre people.

The pecuniary part of this matter is boldly put forward by Mr. Freeman as a clear *British* treasury item. The occasion of war is *British* Caffreland: a new jewel in Queen Victoria's imperial

\* Despatch from Fort Cox, in British Caffreland, Correspondence, p. 76.

diadem. The declarer of the war is not the Governor of the *Cape Colony*; he is the High Commissioner of a region where the Cape authorities have no jurisdiction. If the facts of the case are correctly stated by Mr. Freeman, his conclusions would seem to be irresistible. Earl Grey reserved the point, which, however, is already settled in favour of the colonists by Parliament and the public with acclamation. It deserves one remark, moreover, now—which is, that, pay the bill who may, Sir Harry Smith and Earl Grey are the very costly providers of this national banquet of horrors. Such a result will, undoubtedly, be looked upon by the people of England as a very serious argument against their system of conquest and coercion.

Mr. Freeman is not the only person who has warned Earl Grey not to delay doing right in South Africa at the risk of convulsions. Even stronger warnings than his have come from a more experienced pen. It is sixteen years since Sir Andries Stockenstrom was called upon for advice upon these very Caffre frontier and interior affairs. He then spoke out boldly, and he traced clearly the only policy that could possibly prevent the multitudinous disasters caused by the neglect of his advice by the *Colonial Office* which sought that advice. Last year, called upon again, he spoke out once more; and Earl Grey, with fatal fatuity, read his earnest, burning African denunciation of the *evil that has been recently doing*, and termed his statesmanlike, honest letter 'IMPROPER'!! As Mr. Freeman's letter to Earl Grey is doubtless already in the hands of most of our readers, we have given a very brief view of its contents. Sir Andries Stockenstrom's letter to the Secretary of State is printed only in a Blue Book, so that it will be acceptable with only the abridgment of portions not essential to the meaning.

'If the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies,' he says, 'had seen fit to promote the inquiry which I felt it my duty to urge upon him, he would have seen, and if he would be pleased to examine the records of his office for 1835, 6, and 7, he might still see, that the tract of country, now the subject of contention between the Boers and the Tambookies, lying between the old colonial boundary and the Great or White Kei, was in the possession of the Tambookies when the Caffre war of 1835 broke out, that although the Tambookies had taken no part in that war, and had, indeed, more favoured the colony than the Caffres, Sir Benjamin D'Urban annexed to the colony the said tract of country, together with part of Caffreland; and that, in consequence of Lord Glenelg's instructions, it was restored to the independent possession of the Tambookies.

'Thus stood matters when the Caffre war of 1846 broke out; and when the present Governor arrived, at the close of 1847, the colonists were still limited to the right or western bank of the Klaas Smit's River—mark this, if you please.

‘Towards the close of last year, 1849, in November, I believe, Mr. Zacharias Pretorius suddenly appeared at this place ; I had seen this man once during the war of 1846 as a private individual. He informed me that he had since then been appointed field-cornet, and that he had resorted to me for advice and assistance in obtaining from the Governor the execution of his own promise, whereby he had given the said Tambookie territory to the farmers. When I naturally expressed my astonishment at such a promise, Pretorius produced a copy of a memorial which the said farmers had presented to the Governor, the details of which I cannot now give, but which in substance prayed for the annexation of the said territory to the colony, and the reply to which, written and signed by the Governor’s own hand, which Pretorius likewise produced, granted the prayer, subject only to this exception, viz., that the Caffre chief, Kama, and his followers, were not to be expelled, because the former was a Christian, and the latter would make good servants for the farmers.

‘Now, I leave to the British Government to judge, whether if the Governor had intended to set the Boers and Tambookies at mutual slaughter, he could possibly have hit upon a more effectual contrivance to produce such a result than this reply ; and it is a positive fact that part of the said territory was forthwith measured out for some of the said Boers, under the Governor’s authority, and by way of climax it so happened that the lands thus measured out, did not belong to the followers of the chief, Mapassa, who had joined the Caffres in the last war, but to those of Umtirara, whom we considered our ally. . . . . I am well aware how convenient it would be for certain parties to trace these Tambookie disturbances to some Glenelg or Stockenstrom system of interference, or to the Boers exclusively ; but, for once at least, they shall not succeed. The cause is palpable. There is the Governor’s fiat written in a plain round-hand, independent of any system on earth but his own, and capable of no other construction to the Boer but this : viz., provided you do not molest the Christian Kama, you may expel the heathen Tambookie as fast as you please ; and in order that there be no mistake as to the meaning of this document, the surveyor shall forthwith measure out for you part of the land of that heathen. That the Boers should act up to this view of the matter is natural enough, and that the Tambookies should resist, is not less so. Hence the conflict ; and it is supererogation to search deeper for the solution.

Here, then, we have on the *north-east* one part of the present frontier system working to admiration, whilst on the *north* we have, at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, just removed ‘rebellion’ from the further back of the Orange River to that of the Vaal River, and rendered all parties more discontented than ever. And how is it in the *east*? All perfection, of course ! But having been led to the discussion of these matters, I do not think that I have the right of withholding from the Government the fact that I have, within the last twelve months, been visited by at least half a dozen of Caffre deputations with the most doleful prayers that I might intercede so as to bring about the peace which the Governor promised them, and for which the chiefs kissed his foot, as the nation is tired of the war, and that all my

explanations that I had nothing to do with the matter, having failed of ridding me of these painful intrusions, I was only able to put a stop to them by refusing either to see the messengers, or to give them a mouthful to eat.

‘I tell the Government, once more, that by injustice and oppression, by the violation of treaties, and the abuse of superior knowledge, granted by Heaven for better ends, we have half ruined ourselves, and completely ruined a nation. I have in my own service men whom, not long since, I knew as opulent farmers, one, indeed, who sat in council with me when I represented British majesty, now reduced to labour for me, naked, and hungry for the crumbs which fall from my table, or rather, for what I choose to give them, and to whose physical condition, therefore, slavery itself would be an improvement. Of these there are thousands brooding over their misfortunes, and looking, as we have just seen, upon our happy peace and glorious working system, as a state of war of which they are tired.

‘That precaution is not visionary I shall show by a brief rehearsal of what must still be fresh in the memory of every man acquainted with the recent history of this colony.

‘It was long generally believed, and is still credited by some few, that during the war of 1835 we slaughtered “four thousand Kafir warriors,” and so completely crushed the enemy that he called for “Mercy,” “Mercy;” “Peace,” “Peace”!!! which we granted; that upon this, the Governor, Sir B. D’Urban, established a frontier system, which was so successfully worked by Lieut.-Colonel (now Sir Harry) Smith, as to restore tranquillity to the country, and give perfect satisfaction to all parties, including colonists as well as Caffres; that this happy state of affairs was destroyed by the reversal of the said system by order of the then Colonial Minister, and the introduction of the so-called “Glenelg policy,” which produced general discontent on both sides of the frontier, led to the emigration of the Boers beyond the Orange River, and resulted in all the calamities which have since both disgraced and half-ruined South Africa! So deeply rooted became the faith inspired by the above allegations, that the idea of the condition which Lieut.-Colonel Smith had created and left on the frontier produced an irregular vote of the local Legislature in his favour of a considerable sum of the public money, as well as a long protracted species of idolatry towards himself and his chief; every man who dared to dissent from an implicit reliance on the above creed became, together with the supreme Government and some of the most virtuous men in the kingdom, the objects of the most virulent denunciations and libellous personalities in prints under high auspices; even respectable publications in the mother-country, though incapable of stooping to the local vulgar scurrilities, contributed for a time to give currency to the fallacies which were sometimes reiterated even in Parliament, and remained uncontradicted through the ignorance of those who ought to have known better.

‘Now what are the facts? So far from 4,000 Caffre warriors having fallen in the war of 1835, we fortunately did not kill one-half of 400, including even the unhappy wretch whose ears we cut off and salted!

So far from the Caffres being crushed and calling out for mercy or peace, *we had to send out officers into the bush, at the peril of their lives, to sue for peace from the Caffre chiefs*, who were so thoroughly convinced that they had the best of the conflict, that they laughed to scorn our demand of the restoration of the colonial property which they had taken, whereon we did not dare to insist further, although we had made it a positive stipulation that all the fire-arms in Kaffreland should be delivered up to us before the treaty of peace should be ratified. The Caffre set us at defiance ; and, although Sir B. D'Urban had issued a peremptory order that the ratification should not take place before the fulfilment of the stipulation, Lieut.-Colonel Smith was so embarrassed with the question that he was too glad to ratify the treaty, and left the Caffre nation better armed than it had been since its creation ! So far was the D'Urban system from being satisfactorily worked, or being reversed by order of Lord Glenelg, that Sir B. D'Urban himself, with his own hand, gave it the death-blow, and rendered it a mere self-evident impossibility, by revoking martial law, which Lieut.-Colonel Smith himself knew and declared to be the foundation upon which the whole fabric rested. So far was any party whatever, except such as had profited by the war, and hoped to profit more, from being satisfied, that the Caffres were organizing a regular plan for the renewal of the war, which was only prevented by the reversal of the said system. The Boers who had begun to emigrate by families long before they heard the names "Glenelg," "D'Urban," "Smith," now began to leave in crowds before they could dream of any "Glenelg policy," furiously irritated at and openly denouncing the conduct of the war, the terms of the peace, and the state of insecurity existing under the system. The auxiliary or provincial troops left to defend the frontier were in a state bordering on open mutiny ; and even the officer in command of the forces, after the retirement of Colonel Smith, complained of the unsafe posture of affairs !! Satisfactory issue indeed !!!

This letter is dated 1st July, 1850.

In this melancholy condition of things, we have to look to the responsibility of Earl Grey for our redress. Unfortunately for his character as a colonial minister—unhappily for his prospect of holding the high station in our colonial history, he has toiled long to merit—he has acted in every matter concerning the Cape of Good Hope so as to be himself open to the heaviest of all charges against a minister—utter incapacity and wilful ignorance. He has been told of all that must come upon us, and that is come upon us. He has refused to hear what he has been told ; and he has failed to reflect upon the inevitable result of a course of proceedings on the part of his nominee, Sir Harry Smith, in which proceeding there is nothing really new in measures or principles, or in their consequences.

The House of Commons meets the startling news of this Caffre, *Hottentot, and Tambookie* war with a committee, obtained after

some difficulty, by a vote of 128 to 60; and not without the imputation of a parliamentary cloak being sought for ministerial defaults. The aborigines' committee of 1835-6-7 was granted to Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton with acclamation by an applauding House, and received by the public with universal satisfaction. It was a step in harmony with the recent peaceful victory of negro emancipation, for which her bitterest opponents gave England honourable credit; and it evinced a progress in philanthropic legislation, which is surely, although slowly, characterising the age in both hemispheres. Whilst these lines are being written the spirit of that great change is influencing our American friends, who have summoned a congress of Indians to settle terms of peace, and a system of civilization in the far west—*the local commission* which Mr. Adderley will by perseverance obtain, by-and-bye, for South Africa.

The chief points of the South-African case were discussed in the debates; and, whatever may be the secret motive for the committee, no reserve was used by Lord John Russell in proposing it. Its members will, undoubtedly, be in fault, if the whole case be not now brought out; and the debates themselves are already useful feelers to the committee's coming work, by showing the opinions probably prevalent on the subject. Lord John Russell declared that he and his colleagues wish to deal with the Caffre question as one belonging to our common humanity, and involving the performance of the highest duties of empire, at once to the British people, to the Cape colonists, and to our barbarous neighbours. This sound view of the case redeems grave errors in fact and in judgment, respecting the Caffre frontier; and it may help to correct those errors by facilitating the proof that they have wofully influenced the policy of the Government, and grievously misled public opinion. The manner in which the proceedings shall be conducted on the part of Government, will soon test its sincerity in appointing the committee, and its good faith and ability in this branch of colonial administration.

Lord John Russell limited the various Cape-frontier systems to three:—

The first is, conciliation of the natives, with a restricted colonial frontier, commonly called Lord Glenelg's system.

The second is, coercion of the natives, with the seizure of their lands, attributed to Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

Both of these systems are at the cost of the British treasury.

The third is, the abandonment of the frontier administration to the colonists under a popular constitution; and at their cost.

His Lordship asserted that the first system failed upon trial; and that the third is a disgraceful repudiation of the noblest task

of a civilized people like ourselves, namely, the task of gradually suppressing inhuman practices among our barbarous neighbours, and of labouring perseveringly for their improvement. He insists that the second system has had this good tendency ; and, therefore, it is to be adhered to, unless the committee now appointed shall discover cause for its rejection or modification. He admits that the wars it has already produced justify much anxiety on the subject ; so that *other* measures that '*might* be devised to improve it, ought to be dispassionately considered.'

Giving conditional credit to ministers for honesty of purpose, common sense carries us, on their own ground, to a very simple solution of the great difficulties of this momentous question. If proof be adduced before the committee—plain and solemn proof—that the system of *force did not succeed*, and also that the rival system of conciliation did not fail *so far as it was carried*, but that failure only followed upon its perversion in consequence of the acts and neglects of the Colonial Office, where it was never liked—then Lord John Russell dare not stultify himself by refusing to accept the conclusion he has traced from his own premises. Speaking advisedly, as his lordship does, for the Crown and for the whole ministry, he will in that case not only give up the bad system which really did fail under its original concocter, Governor D'Urban, as it has again turned out most disastrous under its continuator, Governor Smith, but also carry out, with due vigour, the other practical measures of a more humane policy, which are based upon principles of eternal justice.

The first business of the committee will be to learn the whole truth respecting the system of conciliation promulgated in 1836-7—in what it consisted—how it was established—what it effected—and, above all, what became of it.

These points can be settled to the minutest particular ; and they ought to have had a parliamentary record long ago. All the secretaries and under-secretaries of state, numerous as they have been—all the governors and lieutenant-governors, except Sir B. D'Urban and Sir J. Hare—all other chief functionaries, civil, military, and *medical*—all the colonists of note, all the missionaries, and even the poor writers on the subject, once heedfully listened to—all of these, except the chief of them all, the lamented Thomas Pringle ; in short, all who have in any shape meddled with the subject, are living, and most of them are within reach. Lord John Russell is certainly correct in the remark, that 'there are numerous persons in England qualified to give the necessary information.'

Especially there must be produced the important despatches on the subject written since 1837, of which Parliament will now hear for the first time, and the secretaries of state, to whom they

were addressed, probably read for the first time—so mischievous has been the practice of delegating their most delicate duties to their subordinates in the Colonial Office. Nor will commentators upon these unread, or these read, despatches be wanting.

Lord J. Russell has discovered satisfactory circumstances in the character of this war as compared with former ones. The attentive consideration of the histories of both will convince him of his mistake.

Mr. Gladstone, too, made a notable discovery from colonial history upon a capital topic in this case. It is universally agreed, that, as things are now managed, the cost of Caffre wars must be borne by us in England, because England governs the Caffre frontier. If, on the other hand, its rule be passed over to the Cape colonists, they will be delighted, as is believed by the credulous, to accept it even burdened with Caffre war disbursements. 'Strike this bargain forthwith,' says Mr. Gladstone; and so say others who do not always follow him, as, for instance, Mr. Hume and Sir William Molesworth. To enforce this bargain, its propriety is asserted by Mr. Gladstone to be demonstrable by experience. 'The *old* colonists,' says he, 'would in their fearful wars with the Indians have scorned aid from England!'

Now the committee will be the place for fitting details to refute this historical blunder, which is sure to be reproduced there. It is enough here to set two or three examples against the assertion. In the few years before the revolutionary war of 1776, and after the French lost Canada, not only were many British troops employed in North America, but the *provincial* corps received and pressed for British pay. Even the noble provincial officer, Washington, was proud of British military rank as another of nature's nobles, the Cape provincial Stockenstrom, is now proud of a British baronetcy.

But a famous example is in every schoolboy's hand, in which a colony sought help from England against a handful of aborigines. This was St. Vincent's, to which British soldiers were under orders of sailing, in obedience to that call, to hunt down the Caribbs, when Granville Sharp, a *philanthropist*, stayed the expedition, although he spent a life in vain efforts to check the official corruptions which rendered such an expedition possible. It is a still stranger misapprehension of Mr. Gladstone's, that if colonial affairs are to be administered in England, they belong to the Crown exclusive of Parliament; so far otherwise, that, for more than two hundred years, the Journals of Parliament are full of evidences to the contrary.

Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Vernon Smith voted against the committee; but as both were in the Colonial Office in stirring Cape

times, they are entitled to the benefit of a full disclosure of what they did themselves to make things better.

Mr. Gladstone must go to his books again before he ventures to talk of colonial affairs, which, indeed, he should have understood better before accepting the Colonial seals.

Mr. Roebuck adopted these blunders ; and he added an especial one of his own, when he said that the Caffres are *hunters* who take up wastefully an extent of ground which it will be *useful*, and therefore just, to conquer at any cost, and give to Anglo-Saxon husbandmen ! Never did utilitarianism put on so miserable a rag of philosophy. If the electors of Sheffield do not call their member to account for these slips in colonial history and ethnography, and, more severely, for the scandalous doctrine he would introduce into our colonial practice, they will prove themselves very ill learners of the lesson taught him at Bath on topics not more serious. These Cape debates, however, offer compensation for such *escapades*.

Mr. Bell gravely denounced the illogical brutality of Mr. Roebuck, whose doctrine, that to destroy the Caffres is a providential necessity in favour of civilization, is, after all, stolen from Earl Grey's and Lord Stanley's rash despatches. Its audacious promulgation, however, on this occasion, proves how urgent is the duty of philanthropists in Parliament and out of it, to declare themselves earnestly in defence of the aborigines whom Providence has placed in our hands, and at once to accept a challenge which would never have been so rudely proffered if they had not long deserted their post. Colonel Thompson, indeed, was not now wanting with apt reminiscences of older tyrannies, fatal to the tyrants who inflicted them ; and he wisely appealed to the eternal Avenger of national crimes, in order to deter us from repeating their commission. Sir Edward Buxton, too, struck right in reproving the vulgar error, that the justice done to the Caffres in 1837 failed ; and the committee will do excellent service in producing the documents and proofs which are capable of refuting this reiterated, enormous falsehood.

There is one topic belonging to the subject, not alluded to in the remotest degree by any of the speakers in these debates, but which was brought formally before Parliament in the discussions of the Reform Bill. More than once, this topic has been mentioned in the pages of the *Eclectic Review*, and the time is come for its full examination ; for that purpose it should be proposed to the committee. It is, *the elective representation of the Cape, along with other colonies, in the House of Commons*. Intimate local knowledge is confessedly wanted in order to the due settlement of local questions. It is felt strongly, and it will soon be declared clearly, that Parliament cannot abdicate its duty, as

supreme head of the empire, duly to control all great colonial administrations. Let Parliament, then, take the steps—as old as the constitution—of calling within itself the men capable of contributing to the proper discharge of that duty. The details of the measure may be arranged by no great effort; its effect may be anticipated from the vast advantage attending a similar measure in the parliament at Washington, which is enlightened and strengthened by the presence of elected members, the delegates from the *territories* of the United States, which are nothing more nor less than our colonies under another name, and furnished with better constitutions.

This important subject was first discussed by the late Baron Maseres, Attorney-General in Canada in 1763—1766. When the measure was proposed to Franklin in 1775, he said it was *too late*. In 1782 it was pressed in Parliament by very able men; but ‘*too late*,’ unquestionably, then. Occasionally it has been discussed, in the last twenty years, as well worth adoption; and in 1832 Mr. Hume moved it in the House of Commons, when Sir John Malcolm, and other eminent men, spoke for it. The Colonial Reform Society could not spend *one hundred pounds* of their funds more wisely, than by republishing the essays and debates from 1766 to the present day on this question of colonial representation in Parliament.

That society deserves well of the country for insisting upon good constitutions for all its colonies; but it will make a woful mistake in leaving even free colonists *exclusively* masters of a field in which the violent passions and the unreasoning cupidity of actors have hitherto always overcome their sense of duty. Disastrous as our defeats must be, and inglorious as are our victories in Caffreland, there is hope that the bitter lesson will at no distant day rouse a high-minded Parliament, and an impartial, intelligent people at home, to compel the execution of a wise and humane policy, to make our progress prosperous and peaceful, without the frightful alternations now inflicted upon our colonial world, so replete with elements of good perverted to evil solely for want of a rational system of government.

Let Ministers, and Parliament, and the public, but consider the scenes presented to the world in South Africa. Caffreland, dotted over with British forts, and covered with slaughter; the Cape colony, a despotism, and rife with disaffection from one end to the other; Natal, so much a smothered volcano, that, however willing, it cannot spare a handful of men to save Governor Smith from disgrace; and the whole interior full of danger. And this is a land so valuable by nature, that, in one article alone, *fine wool*, the *increase* of 1849 over the export of former years was beyond a million of pounds weight; and there

is reason to believe that the country will grow cotton for 1,500 miles from Cape Town to Delagoa Bay. The whole of South Africa, too, is eminently healthy—a capital point in reference to the grand object of native African civilization—here the best agents of civilization, the missionaries, are never prematurely cut off in their work by the climate.

But it is not to missionaries *alone* that the civilization of barbarians connected with us is to be left. Fifteen years ago, a Committee of the House of Commons reported that it would not be difficult to devise a good system of frontier-government. The suggestion was unskilfully followed up; and we have now to resume the inquiry, with the immense advantage of those fifteen years' experience, during which the ablest men have practically examined the subject in several colonies. In India, also, we possess excellent examples to follow from Mr. Cleveland's triumph in Rajemal, in 1786, to Major Hall's among the Bheels, and the Indian law of 1822 for the Garrows, and many more analogous to the South African cases. At the same time, other civilized states in the Old World and the New, have work on their hands like our own—Russia, over all her frontiers; France, in Algiers; America, North and *South*, too, with millions of Indians—and all are seeking the better system, that is, to save civilized men from the disgrace of being as savage in the coercion of their barbarous neighbours, as they might be beneficent in considerably helping their difficult progress to civilization.

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### Brief Notices.

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*Madam Dorrington of the Dene; the Story of a Life.* By William Howitt. In 3 vols. London: Henry Colburn.

We have read these volumes with very considerable pleasure, and should any of our readers object *in toto* to the class to which they belong, we advise them to follow our example, and if we are not much mistaken, their doing so will greatly modify, if it do not wholly reverse, their judgment. It is the scandal of religious men that our lighter literature—our poetry and works of fiction especially—has been abandoned to the unbeliever, or the immoral, and has received in consequence the impress of their creed and character. Such has been too commonly the case, but its origin is to be found, not in the nature of

either of these species of composition, but in the erroneous conceptions prevalent in the Christian world, and the consequent abandonment of a province which ought to have been occupied for good. Mr. Howitt has honorably distinguished himself in this walk of literature, and is specially entitled to a warm greeting on the present occasion. 'Madam Dorrington' is one of the best books of its class. No reader who commences its perusal will fail to proceed to its close, or to regret when the last leaf is turned over that the end of the tale is gained. There is a fresh and healthy feeling throughout, a hearty sympathy with natural beauty under all its varied aspects, whether seen in a glowing sky, the rich foliage of the wood, the calm deep waters of the silent stream, the 'human countenance divine,' or the yet more exquisite charm of Virtue in her generous and divine moods. We shall not forestall the tale by detailing the course of the narrative, or pointing out the influence of the principal actors on each other. It is enough to say that they are sketched with much skill; that the evolution of the plot is highly creditable to the author's powers; and that the sentiments which pervade the work are in keeping with the higher and more generous sympathies of our nature. Every page of the three volumes may be read aloud in the family circle, and yet there is nothing dull in the tale—nothing approaching to the sermonic prosiness of the so-called religious novel.

The characters introduced are varied, and the individuality of each is well sustained. Madam Dorrington is somewhat too perfect for real life, and with the solitary exception of complaining to Mr. Bathurst of her husband's injustice to their youngest son, Vincent, is a picture of what our nature might be rather than of what it is. Vincent himself is a fine-hearted, talented, and generous youth; while his two brothers, Buckley and Delmey, are specimens of very different, yet distinct classes. Sally Horobin, the old and favoured servant, who loved the absent Vincent as a foster-mother, and availed herself of the privilege of her position to speak the truth which others feared to utter; the simple-hearted and benignant vicar, Jeremiah Gould, who forgot himself in seeking the happiness of others; Farmer Greatorex, with his large heart, practical sagacity, and exuberant kindness; Mr. Khesteven, the London merchant, and his daughter, Mrs. Hetty Harrison, 'that creature of sweetness and love;' together with Elizabeth Arden, and her aunt Nelly, have interested us deeply, and cannot well fail to fascinate all classes of readers.

The general impression of the work is so pleasing that we are not inclined to note minor defects. Amongst such, however, we may just mention the character of Mrs. Delmey, the mother of Madam Dorrington, which is surely overdrawn; the death of Mr. Delmey, which is unnatural in the extreme; and the apparition of Hinchliffe in the chamber of his sister. These are, in our judgment, blemishes; but they weigh so little against the sterling excellence of the work, that it is enough to name them. Indeed, we should be content to pass them by, were we not solicitous to justify our impartiality in the praise we have awarded.

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*An Address to the Students of Chesham College.* Delivered by the Rev. W. H. Stowell, D.D., at his public recognition as the President of that Institution, November 6th, 1850. 8vo. Pp. 24. London: John Snow.

WE cannot speak of this *Address* as we should like to do, for reasons which will be obvious to our readers. It is one of the best of its class, full of sober, solid, enlightened counsel, just such an *Address* as young men would be likely to listen to with respectful interest, and from which a large measure of wisdom may be drawn. Its style is that of the gentleman and scholar, while the spirit it breathes, and the lessons it inculcates, are well suited to the grave and onerous labors of the President of a ministerial institution. More we will not say, lest our commendation be misunderstood; but less would not satisfy our sense of justice, or convey an adequate conception of the worth of this charge.

*The Bath Fables; or, Morals, Manners, and Faith. With Illustrations in Prose, from many Writers of Celebrity.* By Sheridan Wilson, F.S.A. Second Edition. London: Longman and Co. 1850.

THE 'Fables' in this volume, which is most elegantly printed, and illustrated with an ingenious Punch-like frontispiece, appeared, for the most part, in the 'Bath Journal,' for which reason the name of that city is prefixed to them. They are in verse, and, unlike most other compositions of the same class, they aim at the highest standard of morals. They differ from other poetical fables, moreover, in having appended to them prose illustrations from some of our most favourite English authors and most elegant periodical literature. The titles will suggest ideas favourable to the ingenuity and versatility of the writer, and will do more to commend the volume than any elaborate examination or eulogy of ours. The following are a few of them. They are fifty-three. I. The Gazelles and the Giraffe. For our beloved Queen. Prose from *Goldsmith* and *Dryden*. II. The Maid and the Eggs. For Castle-builders. *Addison* and *Steele*. III. The Eagle and the Bats. For Artists. *Eustace*, *Lady Morgan*, &c. IV. The Jackdaw and the Rook. For Lovers. *Addison*. V. Time and his Clients. For Triflers. *Ackermann* and *Dr. Young*. VI. Punch and Judy. For Husbands. *Budgell*, *Steele*, &c. VII. Jonathan and Sambo. For Slaveholders. *Legh Richmond*. VIII. The Robin and the Trout. For Protectionists. *Disraeli*. IX. The Oak and the Holly. For Sufferers. *Ackermann*. X. Judy and Punch. For Wives. *Steele*. XI. The Lark and the Rook. For Zealots. *Ackermann*, and *New Monthly*. There are fables thus adapted to Churches, the Quarrelsome, Jurists, Youngsters, Parents, the Stingy, Senators, Fops and Flirts, all Good People, Duellists, Place-hunters, the Proud, Landlords, Sneerers, Preachers, Sceptics, Braggarts, Liberals, Vestries, Pilgrims, Impostors, Tipplers, Belligerents, Maidens, 1849, the Pope, Improvidents, Egotists, Universities, Sentimentalists, Sectarians, His Grace of Exeter (wrong title—ask Lord John), Cardinals, Sluggards, Thinkers, Rulers, Husband-hunters, Flats.

The versification of the Fables is refined. The thoughts are often original. The wit sparkles, but wounds not. The illustrations are well selected, suggestive, and very entertaining, as well as instructive. We have no space for any one of the Fables. Extracts would scarcely be just, and descriptions would be too dull for our reputation, as well as that of the author. We wish him success in a novel undertaking, and assure our readers that they will find his book a most pleasant companion.

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*Hebrew Records: an Historical Inquiry concerning the Age, Authorship, and Authenticity of the Old Testament.* By the Rev. Dr. Giles, 8vo. London: J. Chapman.

THE object of this work is 'to prove the Old Testament, in its actual form, to be a thousand years later than the date to which it is generally referred.' The detail of this 'proof' exhibits much industry. But the writer appears to be little conversant with the works of Hengstenberg and Hävernick, by whose learned, critical, and candid researches, his principal objections to the genuineness of the Old Testament writings are anticipated and thoroughly refuted. To biblical scholars, these Hebrew Records can appear to be no more than the feeble dogmatism of a writer, whose range of reading is narrow, whose critical powers are slight—a compiler rather than an author—an amateur printer, laborious enough, and more than enough, confiding in his own judgment, but with too small an amount of biblical learning, and too little reverence for the sacred writings, to be a safe guide. On many topics, especially the thirtieth chapter, on 'the Style of the Old Testament,' the writer is manifestly out of his depth, and betrays an entire unacquaintedness with the genius and spirit of the Hebrew literature. While professing that his work is 'historical, and not theological,' the whole drift of the volume shows that his object is theological, and that he aims at undermining the belief of Christians in 'the doctrinal parts of the Christian scheme,' by shaking their confidence in the authority of the Old Testament, which he declares to be 'essential to the existence of our own creed.' To expose the fallacies, mistakes, and foregone conclusions of such a work, is scarcely the business of one who writes so brief a notice as the present. It appears to us, however, that the circulation of works of this character is a fact not to be overlooked, and our chief design in noticing it as we have done, is to suggest the desirableness of some popular treatise, by a well-furnished and vigorous writer, on the whole question of these multiform attacks on Christianity, by writers who, if we are to take them at their word, have no idea of the tendency of what they publish!

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*Maidens and Mothers; or, the Christian Spinster and the Hebrew Wife. A Book for Young Women.* By the Rev. T. Binney. London: J. Paul.

THE eminent preacher of the Weigh-house has done himself much honour, and the public good service, by permitting these ingenious, instructive, and highly characteristic discourses to be published. We understand that Mr. Binney gave away large numbers of them to the

females of his own congregation. We have been much struck with one observation at the close of the 'Hebrew Wife,' which seems to explain the preacher's design in both: 'such young men and women as the Bible would form, as its writers approve, and its pages depict, would constitute the happiness of two generations—they would bless their parents who would rejoice in the promise of their early goodness—they would bless their children, who would be sheltered and nourished by its mature expansion and ripened fruits. They themselves would be a glory and defence to the nation they adorned; would find that religion is not only no enemy to the comfort, business, virtues, and accomplishments belonging to the scene of their temporary pilgrimage, but that true *godliness is profitable for all things—for the life that now is, and for that which is to come.*'

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*The Family Almanack and Educational Register for the Year of our Lord 1851. Containing, in addition to the usual contents of an almanack, a List of the Foundation of Grammar Schools in England and Wales, together with an Account of Scholarships and Exhibitions attached to them. To be published annually. London: John W. Parker, Strand. 1851.*

It is somewhat late in the year to introduce to our readers a new almanack; but as the chief value of the one before us consists in matters of permanent interest, it cannot be unreasonable to recommend it even now. It seems generally accurate, and is remarkably full and complete. We have noticed, however, what seems to be a small error in page 80, where the President of the Board of Trade is represented as enjoying a salary of 35,000*l.* a year. We presume that there is a cipher too many.

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*The Pictorial Family Bible. With copious Original Notes. By J. Kitto, D.D. Parts I.—III. London: Orr and Co.*

THE Pictorial Bible needs no commendation. Its value has been very generally admitted, and the work is now so extensively known as to supersede the necessity of one word being uttered in its praise. We shall, therefore, merely describe the present edition, which, in point of cheapness, equals, if it do not exceed, any of the productions of the day. The work is to be completed in one hundred and twenty weekly numbers, of twenty pages each, quarto, price threepence, or in thirty monthly parts, at one shilling each. It will, therefore, consist of 2,400 quarto pages, with innumerable engravings, and may be obtained at the very low price of thirty shillings. The original work was published about twelve years since, and the character of the present edition will be best understood from the following extract from the announcement of the proprietors. For our own use, we greatly prefer the Standard edition, but the cheapness of the present issue fits it for a much larger class of readers, while it furnishes, in truth, all which such readers ordinarily require. 'Although the sale of the original work continues to be very large from year to year, a new edition, more suitable to the critical scholar and student, was demanded, in conse-

quence of the immense stores of Biblical information acquired within a few years after its first appearance. This want was supplied by the Standard edition of the "Pictorial Bible;" a large amount of Biblical and theological knowledge, drawn from the habits, natural history, and archæology of Eastern countries, being added. To admit of this new matter, which comprised nearly one-third of the whole work, it was found necessary, besides increasing the work from three to four volumes, to divest it of some of the more popular but imaginative illustrations, such as pictures from paintings of the old masters, and confine the engravings strictly to matter-of-fact illustrations, thus producing what the Standard edition professes to be—a Bible for the student; which edition will steadily be kept up to the current standard of Biblical knowledge. To meet, however, the wants of a more extended class of readers, a new edition of the original and more popular work is considered desirable; and to that class is addressed the Pictorial Family Bible.'

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*The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge.* Vol. XII. 8vo.  
London: Charles Knight.

THE concluding volume of an admirable work, which, in comparatively narrow limit, and at a very reduced price, places the results of modern science, literature, and travels, within the reach of the great majority of intelligent readers. We have watched the progress of 'The National Cyclopædia' with much interest. Mr. Knight has honorably fulfilled his engagement, and we trust that the public will duly appreciate his labors by giving to this work an extensive, and, thereby, a remunerative circulation. If any man has merited success, it is certainly Mr. Knight, who has probably done more than any other individual in supplying to the people a sound and cheap literature.

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### Review of the Month.

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No progress has been made in 'The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill' during the past month. This is matter of regret, and has somewhat damaged the reputation of the Ministry. On such a subject, and after such professions, so much delay was not anticipated. The interval which has elapsed since the second reading of the bill, has allowed time for reflection, but has not elicited, so far as our knowledge extends, any reversal of the decision formerly pronounced. There is less passion, it may be, and consequently fewer words, but the more the matter is reflected on, the deeper, as it seems to us, becomes the feeling of the rightfulness and the expediency of rebuking the assumption of the Papacy, and of thus guarding future times from the appeal which might otherwise be made to our acquiescence in the present policy of Rome. We yield to none as advocates of the right

of every man to worship God according to the dictate of his conscience ; but such right is not to be confounded with the ecclesiastical platform of a body owing allegiance to a foreign power, partly secular and partly spiritual. We plead for the religious liberty of the Roman Catholic, but we object to the introduction of a hierarchy which gives fearful power to priesthood, and would degrade by enslaving the nation.

The former has been possessed by our Catholic countrymen for many years ; the latter is now attempted for the first time in a tone of insolent assumption, which reminds us of the days of Hildebrand. We have already seen how this attempt has been met, and the unanimity and earnestness of the opposition has astonished probably both friends and foes. The government measure is to be proceeded with on Monday, the 5th instant, and we confess to some anxiety as to the form which may be impressed on it in Committee. We trust its future progress will redeem the Ministry from suspicion, and speedily destroy all hopes founded on 'the chapter of accidents.'

THE CELEBRATED DURHAM LETTER made special reference to 'the mummeries of superstition' practised by members of the Church of England. It answered a party purpose to apply these words to the services of Roman Catholics, but this device was too obvious to succeed with intelligent and impartial readers. The Premier's allusion was clearly to the 'histrionic arrangements' now made in many English churches, and by which it is sought to assimilate their form of worship to that of the Papacy. We are sorry that the subsequent proceedings of Lord John have evinced no intention to deal with this master and primary evil. His bill makes no allusion to it, and from his speech it was cautiously excluded. There is something suspicious in this. Whether his lordship trembles, as most Whig statesmen have done, at the thought of dealing with Church matters, or whether there are difficulties in the way unknown to the public, but visible to him, we know not. Of one thing, however, we are certain. His silence is regarded with mistrust and disapproval by an overwhelming majority of the people, whether Churchmen or Dissenters. It gives an air of insincerity to much which he says and does, and keeps open the fountain of evil, one of whose poisoned streams he is seeking to turn back. 'Can it be,' it is frequently asked, 'that his lordship, while courageous in resisting foreign priesthood, timidly succumbs to that which is domestic ? Is his Protestantism a thing of name rather than of principle, or is the policy of his administration controlled by clerical influence, rather than dependent on the will of the people, and the obligations of a large and far-seeing statesmanship ?' Whatever reply may be given to such queries, one thing is certain,—his lordship has been silent as the grave, and the great evil which invited the aggression of Rome has remained, so far as government action is concerned, not only untouched, but unthreatened.

In such circumstances we are glad to find that other members of the Church have been truer to their convictions than his lordship. As Dissenters we should of course decline to appeal to the sovereign in religious matters. But the case is different with members of the Establishment. They admit the *headship* of the Crown, and may

therefore be expected, in consistency, to betake themselves to it when danger threatens. Such course has been pursued by a large number of Churchmen, who have presented an *Address* to her Majesty signed by 63 peers, 108 members of the lower House, and 321,240 other lay members of the Church of England, in which, after expressing themselves strongly on the recent aggression of Rome, they say, 'But we desire also humbly to represent to your Majesty our conviction, confirmed by the recent testimony of several bishops of our Church, that the court of Rome would never have attempted such an act of aggression, had not encouragements been held out to that encroaching power by many of the clergy of our own Church, who have, for several years past, shown a desire to assimilate the doctrines and services of the Church of England to those of the Roman communion. While we would cheerfully contend for the principles of the Reformation against all open enemies, we have to lament that our most dangerous foes are those of our own household; and hence we feel that it is to little purpose to repel the aggressions of the foreigner, unless those principles and practices, which have tempted him to such aggressions, be publicly and universally repudiated.'

'We are conscious that the evils to which we allude are deeply seated, and have been the growth of a series of years, and hence we entertain no expectation that they can be suddenly eradicated. But we humbly entreat your Majesty, in the exercise of your royal prerogative, to direct the attention of the primates and bishops of the Church to the necessity of using all fit and lawful means to purify it from the infection of false doctrine; and, as respects external and visible observances, in which many novelties have been introduced, to take care that measures may be promptly adopted for the repression of all such practices.'

This *Address* has been forwarded by her Majesty, through the Home Secretary, to the Primate, with a request that he would lay it before the Archbishop of York, and the suffragan bishops in England and Wales.

'Her Majesty,' says Sir George Grey, 'places full confidence in your Grace's desire to use such means as are within your power to maintain the purity of the doctrines taught by the clergy of the Established Church, and to discourage and prevent innovations in the modes of conducting the services of the Church not sanctioned by law or general usage, and calculated to create dissatisfaction and alarm among a numerous body of its members.'

The tone of this communication was indicative of earnestness without assumption. No Churchman could fairly take exception to it, for there was no parade of authority. Supremacy, indeed, was assumed: it lay at the basis of what was done, and might have justified the use of more peremptory language. But her Majesty knew her strength, and her words were, therefore, mild and conciliatory.

An *Address* to the clergy has subsequently appeared, signed by the two archbishops, and twenty-two bishops, of which we may truly say that it is about as pointless a production as can well be imagined. This should not perhaps be matter of surprise, when it is remembered that

the *Address* itself was evidently a compromise. It bears the signatures of the bishops of London and Oxford, and we need scarcely say these could not have appeared had the evils deprecated been honestly and radically dealt with. 'Peace, peace,' say the archbishops and their brethren, when God's truth and the convulsive throes of the Church herself declare there is no peace. Four bishops, those of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Hereford, and Manchester, did not sign the *Address*; and the first has published a pamphlet in self-vindication, in which some truth is mixed with a large amount of clerical assumption and of religious error. Widely as we differ from Dr. Phillpotts, there is a manliness about him which we admire. He is an outspoken and honest man, so far at least as his Church principles are concerned; and it would be well for his brethren of London and Oxford if as much could be said of them. He has now brought the matter to an issue, and we wait to see whether the Premier is equal to the crisis which impends. The Bishop of Exeter treats the decision of the Privy Council in the Gorham case with contempt, charges his ecclesiastical superior with heresy, denies the royal supremacy in spiritual matters, and, as if to compel an early and final decision, summons a meeting of his clergy—a provincial convocation in fact—to counsel upon and determine such matters as shall be brought before them. Will this meeting be permitted? If so, the royal supremacy is a farce, and Englishmen have yet to release themselves from the galling chains of clerical bondage. The Premier has a noble opportunity of recovering much of his former popularity. Will he do so? We are inclined to think he will. He would gladly have avoided the struggle, but now that it is forced upon him we have faith in his putting down the ecclesiastical tyranny which an intolerant priest would impose.

CHANCERY REFORM has for some time stood prominently before the public, and is now warmly supported even by the Chancery bar. The most eminent persons connected with the Courts, including the late Lord Chancellor, the present Master of the Rolls, and the new Vice-Chancellor, have all committed themselves to nothing less than an entire reconstruction of the system of Chancery procedure. Our present business, however, is with Lord John Russell's measure of the 28th of March. It has the title of a 'Bill for the better Administration of Justice in the Court of Chancery'; but, judging by the noble lord's speech, it should rather have been entitled a bill for the better enabling the Lord Chancellor to attend to his political functions. The great argument in its behalf rested on the inadequacy of Lord Cottenham's assistance in the Cabinet; and the measure itself professes simply to assist the Lord Chancellor in his Chancery duties, by associating with him on the bench the Master of the Rolls and a Common Law Judge. The bill makes no other alteration. For reasons not stated, the ecclesiastical patronage is to be taken away; and, for reasons which are stated, and in which we cannot be supposed to acquiesce, it is to be vested in the Treasury. This arrangement has nothing to do with the main object of the bill. Its presence beokens a pre-formed purpose, fulfilled at the first convenient opportunity.

We do not think that in its present shape Lord John's bill will pass; and as Chancery Reform has obtained a position not dependent upon the success or failure of the measure, we cannot say that we shall regret its rejection. It is open to precisely the objections which proved fatal to Lord Redesdale's proposal in Lord Eldon's time, and more recently to the measure of Lord Cottenham; and it is not attended by the counterbalancing advantages which were ensured by Lord Cottenham's bill. It shuts up the Rolls Court; it deprives Chancery of the great weight derived from the presidency of the Lord Chancellor; it seriously lessens the authority of the House of Lords as a final court of appeal; and it makes no provision for colonial litigants before the Privy Council. The first and the last of these results were avoided by Lord Cottenham; the second and third alone were sufficient to prove fatal to his measure.

That the second is an inherent defect in Lord John Russell's scheme is obvious on a little reflection, though the measure seems framed to disguise it. The Lord Chancellor is still to 'sit' as Chief Judge in Chancery; but if he is to attend there as heretofore, how will he be more able than at present to attend to his political duties? It is agreed on all hands, that nothing will suffice for this object short of an entire release from his Chancery engagements. The only question has been, whether this is not too great a price to pay for the advantage. So far as the Court of Chancery is concerned, the effect of the measure will be to place the Great Seal always in commission.

The third objection is involved in the second. The present Chief Judge in Equity has his mind continually engaged in the mastery of numerous diverse and complicated matters of litigation, creating an amount of mental power in judicial development for which Mackintosh could find no other epithet than 'prodigious,' but very largely dependent, it is obvious, upon its continual exercise. Departing from Chancery and retiring to the Lords, the infallible consequence will be speedily felt in a loss of judicial power, and consequently of authority in the Court. Sir Samuel Romilly forcibly insisted on this objection, in answer to Lord Redesdale's measure, and Lord Lyndhurst did little more than repeat it in defeating that of Lord Cottenham.

MR. LOCKE KING'S BILL for the Extension of the County Franchise has been cast out on the second reading. We are not surprised at this. The result, indeed, appeared so certain, that we greatly regret the motion having been pressed to a division. A very serious responsibility rests on those to whom this is attributable. They have damaged a good cause which they intended to serve, and have furnished additional evidence—not certainly needed—of the want of practical skill, which operates so fatally on the movements of our most onward reformers. When will the men with whose principles we accord, do those principles justice by a sagacious observance of times and seasons? The first reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 100 to 52. This was a great point gained; it placed the question on new and most advantageous ground. A Parliamentary sanction was thus given to the principle of the measure, which ought not to have been trifled with, much less should an opportunity have been afforded for its reversal. Govern-

ment had declared its adoption of the principle ; and Mr. Fox Maule had reiterated and strengthened the pledges of Lord John. It was right to test the Commons in the first instance ; but what has subsequently occurred ought to have made the friends of the measure pause, more especially when it was evident, from the state of the House on the 2nd, that an adverse vote would be given. Several Liberal members counselled a postponement of the measure, and its best friends must now regret that such counsel was not adopted. A division, however, was called for, and the bill was rejected by a majority of 299 to 83. We have thus lost the vantage ground on which we previously stood, and that, too, through the folly and recklessness of our own friends. We do not wonder at the mistrust evinced by some Liberals. Lord John has recently done very little to warrant confidence, and had it been possible to carry the measure, we should have counselled perseverance. But as this clearly was not the case, as Mr. Locke King was sure to be defeated, and as Mr. Bright himself 'had listened with considerable gratification to the speech of the right hon. Secretary at War,' who spoke as the mouth-piece of Government, it was cruelty to a noble cause, the merest folly which could be enacted, to force the matter to a division, and thus tear down the popular flag from the high ground on which it had been planted. Until our onward men learn more wisdom, they will do but little in advancing the people's cause.

JEWISH DISABILITIES have again formed the topic of Parliamentary discussion. The subject was introduced by the Premier on the 3rd, who moved 'That the House resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to take into consideration the mode of administering the oath of abjuration to persons professing the Jewish religion.' The debate, which was brief, was not characterised by any novel or striking features. Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Plumptre, and Mr. Newdegate, spoke against the motion, while Mr. Milner Gibson expressed a hope that if the measure 'were rejected a third time in another place, some decided measures would be taken by Government to prevent so important a principle of civil and religious liberty being set aside.' The motion of Lord John was carried by a majority of 166 to 98. We need not say we are glad that such a measure has been introduced, while 'The Ecclesiastical Titles' bill is before the House. It constitutes a practical answer to many of the charges preferred against the spirit and policy of the framers of that bill. An enlightened attachment to religious liberty is perfectly consistent, nay, seems to us imperatively to require earnest opposition to the aggressive policy of the Papacy. The more we reflect on the subject, the deeper becomes our conviction that the Papacy is not to be dealt with as a purely spiritual or ecclesiastical institution. The second reading of the bill is fixed for the 1st of May.

SIR CHARLES WOOD SUBMITTED HIS AMENDED BUDGET to the House on the 4th, and partially succeeded in regaining its good feeling. His budget, though substantially like its predecessor, has received some modifications which entitle it to a more favorable reception. The feeling of the House was, no doubt, also influenced by what has recently occurred. The effect of a hostile vote is more clearly seen than

formerly, and honorable members are, therefore, probably in a mood to be satisfied with little rather than risk another ministerial crisis. Calculating on the same surplus, 1,892,000*l.*, as in his former budget, the Chancellor devotes it principally to the *extinction* of the window-tax. The present produce of this tax is 1,856,000*l.*, for which he proposes a partial substitute in a house-duty, chargeable on houses of an annual rental exceeding 20*l.* This tax it is calculated will produce 720,000*l.*, being 1,136,000*l.* less than the window-tax. So much, therefore, will be remitted to the public, while all objections grounded on sanitary considerations will be got rid of. By the former budget the rates of duty were 1*s.* and 9*d.* in the pound on the rental which was chargeable on 500,000 houses, but this is now lowered to 9*d.* in the pound on dwelling-houses, and 6*d.* on houses having shops. The number of houses chargeable with the tax is also reduced to 400,000. These features of the budget constitute a material improvement on the Chancellor's first project, and ought to be received as such. The duties on coffee and foreign timber are also to be reduced, and a further reduction of the sugar duties takes place this year. The whole saving to the public will therefore be—

On Windows . . . . .	£1,136,000
On Sugar . . . . .	330,000
On Coffee . . . . .	176,000
On Foreign Timber . . . . .	286,000
	£1,928,000

This sum exceeds the surplus on which the Chancellor calculates, but the loss will be partly met by increased consumption, while a half year's window-tax, now due, amounting to 568,000*l.*, will go to the credit of the year's account. An excess of income over expenditure, amounting to 924,000*l.*, is therefore anticipated. Would that this could be applied to the reduction of the national debt; but we much fear that our misgovernment at the Cape will involve a larger sacrifice than the surrender of this surplus. The agricultural interest has gained nothing by the reconstruction of the budget. The boon proffered has been withdrawn, at which we are not much surprised, considering the scorn with which it was treated. 'Another proposal,' said the Chancellor, 'which I made to the house, of minor importance certainly, and one which I submitted in accordance with the recommendation of the House of Lords, was to undertake a portion of the charge of maintenance of lunatic asylums, to be paid out of the consolidated fund, as also to abolish the duty on clover and grass seeds. Well, I have heard many objections to both, and not a single word in their favour, and, therefore, whatever my own opinion may be as to the merits of these proposals, I am certainly most unwilling to press it upon the House.'

The income-tax is to be renewed without modification, or improvement, which is much to be regretted on many accounts, and not the least so on account of the Government. All parties admit the inequitable and inquisitorial nature of the tax. It was first imposed to meet

a temporary urgency, as the Chancellor himself admits. The danger then impending inclined men to submit to any evil as the means of sustaining national credit. They did not, therefore, look narrowly into the practical injustice of the scheme, or, to whatever extent they did so, they deemed it better to submit to temporary wrong, than to hazard the other evils which threatened. The case, however, is different now. Instead of a deficiency there is a surplus; and the time, therefore, is surely come for a reconsideration of the matter, so far, at least, as the distinction of property and income are concerned. But Sir Charles Wood thinks otherwise, and his budget evinces the class-policy of our rulers. The tendency of our recent legislation has been to relieve the great masses of our countrymen from the disproportioned share of taxes formerly pressing on them. In this we rejoice; but, on the other hand, we are equally opposed to the middle class being made a scape-goat for their richer neighbours. Such is the policy now in vogue, and it should be watched and steadily opposed by all lovers of fair-play. To tax the produce of a man's labor,—the salary of a clerk, the profit of a merchant, the income of a lawyer, physician, or clergyman, in the same way, and to the same extent, as the interest or other produce of realized capital, is manifestly inequitable. It confounds things which differ so notoriously, that one word need not be added in proof of its injustice. Such is the proposition of Government, and the House will no doubt adopt it.

ON THE 7TH MR. HERRIES submitted a resolution, the effect of which would be, to substitute for the repeal of the window-tax, and the other reductions proposed by the Chancellor, a diminution of two-sevenths of the income-tax. He did not attempt to obviate the objections which lie specially against the tax; it was to remain—five-sevenths of it, at least—as inquisitorial and unrighteous as ever. The essential injustice of the impost, in confounding income and property, making what is variable and contingent on labor and anxiety yield the same revenue as what is fixed and absolute, was not in the slightest degree diminished by Mr. Herries' resolution. The tax was to continue, though its amount was altered, as alien as ever to the habits of our countrymen, and unpopular in the very highest degree. We are, therefore, glad that the House rejected his resolution by a majority of 278 to 230. It was a pitiful attempt at popularity, which utterly failed, and would reconcile us—were reconciliation needed—to the loss of Lord Stanley's financial measures. On one point only Mr. Herries' speech was effective. He made free use of 'Hansard'; and we do not envy the feelings with which some of her Majesty's Ministers must have listened to the extracts he read. The second reading of the Income Tax Bill is to be taken on Monday, the 28th, and we shall not, of course, be able to announce the result.

IT WAS NOT TO BE EXPECTED that the Country party would allow the occasion to pass without calling attention to the subject of agricultural distress. The Chancellor possessed a surplus; taxes were to be reduced; and Mr. Disraeli, therefore, on the 11th, moved as an amendment to the motion for going into committee on the Assessed Taxes Act, 'That in any relief to be granted by the remission

or adjustment of taxation, due regard ought to be paid to the distressed condition of the owners and occupiers of land.' To these words no reasonable objection could be taken, and had they expressed all that was intended, the House would probably have affirmed them by an overwhelming majority. But it was well known that they did not do so. Mr. Disraeli had modified his amendment with the obvious design of catching as many votes as possible, and notwithstanding the strange assertion of Mr. Reynolds, there was not, we apprehend, a single member who did not regard it as a Protectionist amendment, and did not vote, for or against it, under the full conviction that it was so. If the commercial policy of Sir Robert Peel's government is to be rescinded, let it be done openly and after an English fashion. Those who deem it injurious to our national interests, or see reason to believe that it presses unequally or with injustice on the landed interest, are fully entitled to state their case and to claim redress. If their reasonings cannot be met, or their alleged facts disproved, in the name of common justice, let them have the redress they claim. At any rate, a fair and open field is their due, and in such case we should respect their integrity, whatever we might think of their statesmanship. But the affair is vastly otherwise when they propose one thing and mean another—when their speeches and resolutions avoid the obnoxious terms, while their policy evidently contemplates the re-establishment of protection. We say with Mr. Gladstone, 'If hon. gentlemen are going to restore protection, let them not talk of the alleviation of local burdens.' Mr. Disraeli, as was remarked by Mr. Labouchere, deprecated discussion on the policy of the late Government, yet that evidently lay at the basis of all he did. 'If the hon. gentleman,' said Mr. Labouchere, 'had not struck out of his amendment the words, "in the first instance," he could have understood his proposition; but as it stood at present, it amounted to a truism.' Whatever qualities Mr. Disraeli may possess as an able rhetorician, however skilfully he can avail himself of the weaknesses of an adversary or of the prejudices of his heterogeneous followers, he has yet failed to exhibit any one characteristic of English statesmanship, or to carry himself a whit nearer the confidence of his countrymen. On a division, the Irish members acted as in a former instance, and the Government obtained only the small majority of thirteen: the numbers being—for the amendment, 250; and against it, 263. We regret this issue of the debate on account of the parties most immediately concerned. It will keep up their delusion, and thus aggravate the evils they are suffering. As a mere party division, the smallness of the majority is no doubt gratifying to Lord Stanley and Mr. Disraeli, but it does not advance the return of protection one inch. That is doomed, and is past recovery, whatever the vengeance of Irish members may prompt, or the subtlety of their English allies attempt. 'The question of protection,' as Mr. Bright observed, 'is one which has been finally and irrevocably settled.'

THE SUBJECT OF CHURCH-RATES has again been introduced to the Commons' House. For some time past it has been in abeyance, and the reason of its being so is very obvious. The Administration has been

seeking favor with the Church, and has, therefore, shrunk from undertaking it, while the energies of the more earnest and active Dissenters have been directed against the alliance of Church and State, rather than the practical grievances which it engenders. Mr. Trelawny, however, has recalled attention to the subject by moving, on the 8th, 'That a select committee be appointed to consider the law of church-rates and the difference of practice which exists in various parts of the country in the assessment and levy of such rates; and to report their observations to the House.' The speech of the hon. member in submitting this motion was distinguished by moderation and good feeling, and was ably seconded by Mr. Hardcastle, a young member of considerable promise. We have reason to believe that Notes were issued from the Treasury requesting the attendance of its supporters in order to prevent the motion from being out-voted. This was wise on the part of Lord John, and may be taken, we trust, as an indication of return to his future and better views. Sir Robert Inglis expressed surprise at the concurrence of her Majesty's Ministers, and Mr. Bright followed with one of his most telling speeches, in the course of which he triumphantly vindicated himself from the charge of misrepresentation preferred by the honest, but ill-informed and narrow-minded, member for the Oxford University. We do not wonder at the surprise of Sir R. Inglis. We confess to something of a similar feeling ourselves. The language recently held by the Premier gave no promise of his yielding the committee proposed. It is only two years since that his lordship spoke of 'Church-rates'—we wonder he could *gravely* do so—'being a homage paid to our common faith, and to that religion upon which all our hopes here and hereafter depend.' But the condition of his lordship's government is vastly different now from what it was when these words were uttered, and we are glad to find that adversity has not been without its good effect. 'It is never,' as the 'Daily News' remarks, 'too late to mend; and we shall be glad to find that what was ceded promptly, is honestly carried out. The committee, we presume, will be chosen immediately after the re-assembling of Parliament, and its composition will enable us to judge of the good-faith or otherwise of the Premier. If it consists of impartial men we are satisfied. Let the case be thoroughly sifted and an honest judgment be given. If so constituted it may answer a very important end; but if otherwise it will only form another instance of the manner in which trickery and fraud are confounded with statesmanship by many politicians. We will not, however, anticipate this. Time, the great revealer, will speedily disclose the truth, and we wait for its instruction. In the meantime we are desirous of offering two remarks.

First. We must go to the *extinction* of the rate. Nothing short of this will meet the justice of the case. It is not a question of money, but of principle, and as such it must be presented by all our witnesses.

Secondly. An organization should immediately be effected with a view of presenting to the committee a list of witnesses competent to speak to the law of Church-rates, the grounds of our objection, the religious and social evils which flow from them, the pecuniary outlay

of Dissenters in the erection and support of their own religious edifices, and in general the marvellous achievements of the Voluntary principle wherever it has had fair play. Gentlemen should be brought up from various parts of the country, and the records of Parliament and the reports of Church-rate meetings should be examined, in order to present the case fully to the legislature. We are glad to hear that the London Deputies have taken the matter up, and we trust that their proceedings will be prompt and generous. The question respects the whole country, and an immediate application should therefore be made to our friends throughout the kingdom for such pecuniary aid as is needed. There is not a moment to lose. Our opponents will bestir themselves, and we trust not sleep at our post.

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